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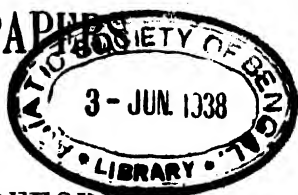
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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

PART V



PAPERS READ MOSTLY BEFORE THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

BY

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BOMBAY :

THE FORT PRINTING PRESS.

Printed and Published by Mosang T. Anklesaria at the Fort
Printing Press, No. 1, Prasi Bazar Street, Fort, Bombay,
and Edited by the Late Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir
Jivanji J. Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.D., Pilot
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SL NO. 086459

37985

Dedicated

TO.

The Sacred Memory

OF THE LATE

Rev. Dr. L. C. CASARTELLI,

*Professor of Oriental Languages at
St. Bede's College, Manchester,
Bishop of Salford.*

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

IN ENGLISH

The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana (1903).

Aiyādgār-i-Zarirān, Shatroihā-i-Airān, va Afdya va Sahigiya-i-Seistān, *i.e.*, the Memoir of Zarir, Cities of Iran and the Wonders and Marvels of Seistān (Pahlavi Translations, Part I. Texts in Gujarati character, with English and Gujarati translations and notes) (1899).

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PREFACE

I have read, in all, 116 papers before the undermentioned Societies and Institutions on subjects of Anthropological interest:

102 before the Anthropological Society of Bombay.

12 before the Anthropological Sections of various Science Congresses¹ and Oriental Conferences in various parts of India.

1 before the Folklore Society of England.²

1 before the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.³

I note with satisfaction that most of my papers were read before my Anthropological Society of Bombay, of which I have been a member well-nigh since its foundation,⁴ its member of Council since 1890, its Vice-President for 7 years (1890, 1893, 1896-1900), its President for two years (1914 and 1926) and its Honorary Secretary⁵ for 27 years (1898; 1901 to 1913; 1915-25; 1927-1930).

The first of the 102 papers read before my Anthropological Society of Bombay was read on 27th April 1887 and

1 I had the pleasure of presiding at the Section of Anthropology in the Science Congress held at Lucknow in 1921.

2 For particulars, *vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part IV, Preface, p. V, n. 1. 3 *Ibid.* n. 2.

4 The Society was founded in the Durbar room of the Town Hall of Bombay on the 7th April 1886 under the guidance and helping hand of the late Mr. Tyrrel Leith.

5 I was at first appointed to act as its Hony. Secretary on 27th April 1898 in place of the late Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha during his temporary absence in Europe and then permanent Secretary from 1901-1913; 1915-26; 1927-30.

the last on the 18th November 1931. Out of the above 116 papers, 85 are published in my 'Anthropological Papers, Parts I, II, III and IV; 10 in my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees" (1922); and 10 are published in this Volume as Anthropological Papers, Part V.¹

To help students interested in the study of Cultural Anthropology, I give in this Volume, at the end, a complete list of all my papers on Anthropological subjects.

I have noted with pleasure that some literary Journals, like the *Academy* and *Athenæum* of England, have, in their occasional notices, appreciated and encouraged my humble work. The *Athenæum*,² while noticing the first volume of my Anthropological Papers, recommended it "to every scholarly student of India". The *Academy*³ said:—"There is much to learn of Indian life from his papers which Mr. Modi should continue to write and publish". Such appreciation has encouraged me "to continue to write and publish".

Among individual literary men who appreciated my humble work, I remember, with pleasure and gratitude, the late Revd. Dr. L. C. Casartelli, who was, at one time, the Professor of Oriental Languages at St. Bede's College, Manchester, and afterwards the honoured Bishop of Salford. While noticing some of my papers published in the local literary Journals, he said:—"We trust that Mr. Modi will some day collect his numerous essays into a volume; they are worthy of preservation".⁴ The same scholar subsequently wrote in 1911:—"I can only express my

1 This Part consists of 17 papers: some of these were printed in various other Journals, which are incorporated in this Part.

2 Of 13th July 1912, pp. 43-44.

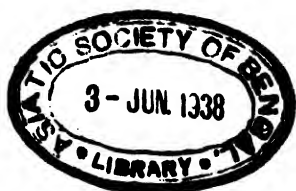
3 Of 14th September 1913.

4 The Babylonian and Oriental Record, Vol. VIII, No. 8, p. 73, April 1896.

admiration at the breadth of your erudition and your untiring literary activity. I hope you may be spared many years for the benefit of learning." Thanks to God, the pious hope of the learned Bishop has been realized, and I have been spared to continue to work for 21 years more. I am now 77, and it is in the hands of Ahura Mazda to say, for how many years more I will continue to do so. With thankfulness to God, and gratitude for some encouraging words, I beg to connect this my latest Volume with the honoured memory of the above scholar.

Jivanji Jamsheji Kosi

SORABJI BEHRAMJI BHABHA
SANITARIUM, BANDORA,
24th May 1932.



ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS.

A VAHI OR REGISTER OF THE DEAD OF SOME OF THE PARSEES OF BROACH

AND

A PARSEE MARTYR MENTIONED IN IT.¹

(Read on 9th January 1929.)

Introduction. Principal Macmillan of our Elphinstone College had asked me, in 1903, to give him some information about any Parsee martyr or martyrs in India. A friend of his in England had proposed to write on the subject of martyrs in general, and so, had asked for some information from him about some martyrs of India. Hence was his inquiry.

The Parsees in India have gone through various vicissitudes of fortune, and so, they must have produced here and there, a martyr or martyrs for the cause of truth. But we have not many recorded instances. Only one or two are generally known. One is that of Kāmā Homā who died on 8th December 1702, at Broach. To enable myself to give to Principal Macmillan, for his friend, some particulars about this personage, I wrote to my friend, Khan Bahadur Adarji Muncherji Dalal of Broach, and

1. Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIV
No. 3, pp. 303-318.

desired some information about this personage. In reply, he kindly sent me a long explanation, dated 4th February 1903, and also a Gujarati *vahi*, wherein a note of Kama Homā's martyrdom is taken. I then collected and supplied to Principal Macmillan some Notes on the subject of his inquiry. The object of this paper is (a) to exhibit, to the members of this Society, the Vahi with some notes of explanation, collected at the time, and with some further information, and (b) to give some particulars about the martyr Kama Homa. In this matter, the first part of my paper is, as it were, a supplement of my paper, entitled "The Disāpothi and the Nāmgrahan (family death-registers) among the Parsees", read in January 1922, before the Second Oriental Conference at Calcutta. I will take this opportunity to exhibit also the Disā-pothi—disā pothi and vahi mean the same thing—of the Parsees of the Malesar quarters of Naosari. The Parsees of the Mohta *falia* quarters of Naosari also have their Disa-pothi or Vahi, but not on so large a scale as that of the two volumes of Malesar quarters which I exhibit to-day. These manuscript volumes are, as it were, unique and important from various points of view. I beg to thank Mr. Merwanji Karkaria and his son Mr. Rustomji for kindly lending the volumes to me to be exhibited to-day.

I

Two kinds of
Death-registers
among the
Parsees.

There are two kinds of death-registers among the Parsees, (1) the Nām-grahan and (2) the Vahi or the Disā-pothi. The first, the Nām-grahan, is kept by almost all families for the purpose of the recital of the names of the dead, by the family-priest, during the rituals¹ in honour of the dear departed ones of the family. The second, the Vahi, is kept both by the family and by the family

1. For the occasions of the ritual, *vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," p. 85.

priest, who is the family priest, not of one, but of several families. The vahi kept by the family is that in connection with its own members, but that kept by the family priest is a larger vahi, which is a register of the dead of all the families of which he is the family priest.

The first part of the word *nām-grahan* is *The Nām-grahan*. Avesta *nāman* .نامن (Sans. नामन्; Pahl. *nām* نام; Pers. نام; Lat. *nomen*; Germ. name; Fr. *nom*; Eng. name). This word *nāman* comes from the root *znā* .نام (Sans. ज्ञा; Pahl. *dān* دان; Pers. دان; Lat. *cognocere*; Fr. *connaitre*), to know. The second part of the compound word is *garew* .گرفت (Sans. गृह्; Pahl. *geraftan* گرفتن; Pers. گرفتن *giraftan*; Germ. *er-greifen*), to take. So, *nām-grahan* means "taking or remembering the names". Then it came to mean "taking or remembering the names of the dead in ritual." I will quote here what I have said in my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees"¹ to explain the word: "Every family has a manuscript book or list known by that name (*viz.* *nām-grahan*). It contains the names of the departed ones of the family. Those who have died lately head the list. The priest, while reciting the Pazend *Dibāchê* in the *Afringān*, *Satum*, *Farokhshî*, etc., recites all the names in the list. At first, he mentions or invokes the name of the particular deceased in whose honour the ceremony is performed, and then the names of other deceased of the family."² He then also recites the names of some of

1. Page 470.

2. This Parsee custom of remembering the names of the deceased in the ritual is similar to that of reciting the names in the Shrādh ceremony of the Hindus. I beg to refer, in this connection, to my paper entitled "A visit to Nasik on the opening days of the present Sinhast Pilgrimage" (Journal, Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XII, No. 5, pages 493-527) read on 27th August 1920. (*Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part III, page 166). There, in the recital of a prayer of ritual, dictated by the Pāndas, the worshipper is told बापाचा नांव गेवा, आईचा नांव गेवा etc. i.e. he is asked by the priest to recite the names of his father, mother, et cetera. Mark also the word गेवा i.e. "to take" in this ritual. It corresponds to the above *garew* of the Parsee ritual (Sams. गह).

the departed Zoroastrian worthies of ancient Iran and of India who have done valuable services to their community."¹ This custom of reciting the names is alluded to in the Farvardin Yasht where the Farvarshis of the departed ones expect to be invoked.²

The Custom of reciting the Names of all the deceased of a town or a quarter of a town. Its parallel at Montenegro.

In my paper on Disa-pothi before the second Oriental Conference at Calcutta, I have referred, at some length, to a peculiar custom, occasionally observed in the last century, at Malesar, a particular quarter of Naosari, where live the laymen of the

town. So, I will here speak in brief. It was on some occasions of the Baj or anniversary of the death of a relative that the family asked the priest to recite the names of all the deceased of the Malesar quarter. I think, that the present living Parsee population of Malesar is about 2000; so, the dead of the past several generations may come to several thousands. Thus, the officiating priest would take several hours to recite all the names. The Afringan prayer in which these names are recited is performed on a carpet on the floor. So, it was a fatiguing task for the priest to sit on the floor for several hours and recite the names. To avoid this fatigue, the priest was given a big pillow at his back to support his back occasionally.

1. This Parsee custom of remembering or commemorating the names of the few departed worthies who have done great services for their community reminds us of a somewhat similar custom observed at the Oxford University during "the Bidding Prayer." I am indebted to the late Revd. Dr. Mills, Professor of Iranian languages at Oxford, for the information. He wrote to me, that they made "a long statement recalling the gifts of benefactors to the University in times past. It is really a thanks-giving to Almighty God for the gifts of the worthies of old who gave lands and money to endow the Colleges and University. The list of benefactors is read out in full on the high festivals of the University Church only." (*Vide my Religious Ceremonies and Customs*, p. 81, n. 1.)

2. Farvardin Yasht, Chapter 13. We read 'Kabe no idha náma ágairyât i.e. (The Holy Spirits of the dead expect and say) "Who will take our names?" Here, the idea conveyed by the words "náma ágairyât" has, as it were, originated the custom of "taking the names (námgrahan.)"

This Parsee custom of reciting or remembering the names of all the deceased of a particular town or a quarter of a town, observed at Malesar in Naosari, has its parallel in a custom of Montenegro. We learn of this custom from a paper entitled, some "Montenegrin Manners and Customs" by M. Edith Durham in the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of January to June 1909 (pp. 85—96). There are several tribes of the Montenegrins. One of these is that of Dugi-do. This tribe has a holiday named *Zadushnja Subota*, i.e., All Souls' Saturday. On that day, (a) they place on a round table, called *sofra*, some boiled wheat and wine. (b) They kindle some candle sticks. (c) Then they burn fragrant substances on fire before their ikon and (d) say prayers. Pop Gjuro, their priest, performs this ceremony in a church. We read: "After a mass, Pop Gjuro, the priest, stood at a table facing the Ikonostasis and read the names of the deceased in all the families of Dugi-do since the tribe began. These were handed him in little books or folded parchments. We began at Punosh, (the founder of the tribe) and it was a long job; of course we ate wheat for their souls. The lists were mere strings of Christian names and no geneologies could be traced on any that I saw. Only quite recently did any women's names occur in these lists" (p. 88.)

A Parallel of the Custom in "Leagues of Prayers."

A custom somewhat similar to that of the *nām-grahan* is prescribed by, what are known as, "Leagues of Prayers," referred to by Mr. F. J. Snell in his "Customs of old England".¹ The custom is said to have been grounded on the following words of St. James in the Bible: "Pray one for another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."² According to this custom, when a Mission went out of the country it

1. PP.1—9.

2. The General Epistle of James, V. 16.

arranged with the monasteries of the country that the monks were to pray for them daily. Each monastery supplied, through a special messenger, every year, to all the other monasteries a list of their dead brethren to be remembered in prayers by all the monasteries. The names came at one time to about 3000. These names were contained in long "mortuary rolls" which at times were measured in yards.¹

The Vahi from
Broach.

The above referred to Ms. from Broach bears, on the cover, its title, as "કોટની વહી માસ ૨ અરદીબેહેશ્ત મહીનાની મેરવાનજી દોરાબજી "

i.e. the vai² (vahi) of the Fort,³ of the second month. Ardibehesht. Merwanji Dorabji.⁴

The vahi, which I produce, is a register of a priest, and it contains a dated list of the deaths of the Parsis of a particular portion of Broach. The vahi has two columns. There is a general heading as શ્રી કોટ મધે *i.e.* "in the Fort." Then, in the first column, there is a heading કોટમાં *i.e.* in the Fort; and, in the second column, we read the heading as Kharâshvârâ (ખરાશવારના) *i.e.* of the Kharâs street (vâd). This name of the street continues for 10 pages, Kharâshvâr is a particular street of Broach. So, this list is that of the Parsee dead of the Kote (Fort) at Broach, and of its Kharas street who died during the second Parsee month, of a number of

1. The Blackwood Magazine of February 1912 (Article on "A House of Austin Friars") also refers to the custom of reciting "the whole list of their names publicly before the assembled convent" (p. 247).

2. The word *vahi*, sometimes written *vaj* means "an account book, tradesman's register."

3. In the City of Broach, there are two quarters—one, known as Kote, *i.e.*, Fort, and another, known as Bâhârkote, *i.e.* out of Fort. We, in Bombay, also had, and even now, have, these two names. One, Kote (કોટ) is still known as Fort, but, the word Bâhârkote (બાહાર કોટ) has well nigh gone out of use, though still used by the Parsees to some extent. The portion of our city, commencing from the Crawford Market and continuing from Shaikh Abdul Rehman Street northwards, well-nigh upto Byculla, was known as Bâhâr-kote.

4. This seems to be the name of the owner of the *vahi*.

Parsi years. This is a vahi or list of only one month, the second month (Ardibehesht) of the Parsee year. So, there must be in all 12 vahis or registers for 12 months, for all the Parsees who died in the Parsee quarters of Broach known as *Kote* and *Kharāshvār*. Then there must be similar vahis or registers of deaths for the other Parsee streets of Broach. They are kept by the particular family priests of these streets. All such lists combined together would form a complete vahi or register of the deaths of all the Parsees of Broach.

Vahi, also called
Disâ-pothi.

This death register, vahi, is also spoken of as Disâ-pothi.¹ The word *disâ* here, is the same as *dis*, a day. It is also the same as *divas*, a day. Here the word means "the day (of the death of a person)". The word *pothi* means "a book;" so *disâ-pothi* means "a register-book of the days (of the deaths of persons)."

The object of
keeping a Vahi or
Disâ-pothi.

Reverence and remembrance for the dead is a prominent feature among the religious beliefs and customs of the Parsees. I will quote here, what I have said in my paper entitled "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees" read before this Society on the 30th of September 1891.² "According to the Zoroastrian belief, the relation between a pious deceased and his surviving relations does not altogether cease after death. His holy spirit continues to take some interest in his living dear ones. If the surviving relatives cherish his memory, remember him with gratefulness, try to please him with pious thoughts, pious words and pious

1. I had the pleasure of exhibiting a Disâ-pothi of the Parsees of Malesar in Naosari, and of reading a paper on it, at the 2nd Oriental Conference in Calcutta in 1922; *Vide* "Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference," pp. 167-9.

2. Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II, No. 7, pp. 439-440. *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 85-86.

[illegible]

Now, with this belief,¹ every family was supposed to have a *vahi* or *disā-pothi*, in which the names of parents and grandparents and other near relatives are entered with the dates of their deaths. It is, as it were, a family calendar of the departed dear ones. Well-regulated families occasionally look for dates into their family *vahis* to be able to duly commemorate the anniversaries of their dear ones. But it is considered to be a duty of the family priest to remind the family of the coming occasions.

“ Every family has its own family-priest. He keeps with him a copy of that *pothi*, and, regularly referring to it, goes to the head of the family on the approaching

روزگار پهران و مادران و خویشان و زنان و فزاینه‌ان کردن

occasion of the anniversary of the death of a deceased member of the family, and, reminding him of the coming occasion, receives necessary instructions for the performance of ceremonies, either at the house of the family or at his own house or at a fire-temple. A Parsi priest is generally the family priest of more than one family. So, he keeps with himself a 'joint' *Disâ-pothi* for all families of whom he is the family priest."¹

The *Vahi* of Broach which I exhibit to-day is a *disâ-poth* of the above kind. It is a register, as said above, of the deaths of the Parsees of a particular Parsee street of Broach during one particular month of the Parsee year. The first page of the *vahi*, begins with the following heading:

શવંત ૧૯૩૪ ના માગસર શુ ૧૫ ને વાર ગુરુએ શ્રી ક્રાટ મધે
અરદીબેહેસ્ત મહીનાની વધ રોજગારની કેખશરૂ પેશતનજી શીક્ષાગુરુજીએ
લખાવી છે. ક્રાઇનો દાવો એ વધ પર નહી.

i.e. The *Vai* (*vahi*) of *rozgar*² of the Fort for the month of Ardibehesht is got written on week day *Guru* (Thursday) *magsar sud* 15 year 1934, in Kote (Fort) by Kaikhushru Pestonji Shikshaguruji.³ Nobody has a claim upon this *vahi*.

Among the present grown up or old generation of Broach, the name of this priest-teacher Kaikhushru is still well-known.

i.e. to observe the (anniversary) days of fathers and mothers and relatives and wives and children (Dârâh Hormazdyar's *Rivayat* by M. R. Unvâlâ, with my Introduction, Vol. I. page 292). *Vide* also my "Persian Farziât-nameh of Dastur Darab Pâhlân", pp. 25-26.

1. *Vide* my paper on *Disâ-pothi* in the "Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta," p. 168.

2. The word *rozgar* among Parsees means "annual dead-ceremony" (*Vide* Shapurji Edulji's Dictionary, p. 720). The word is Persian روزگار meaning "time, season-day" (Steingass); hence "the day of the death of a Parsee".

3. શીક્ષા is Sans. for instruction or knowledge, and ગુરુ is a religious teacher. So, શીક્ષાગુરુ (Shikshâ-guru) generally means, an instructor or teacher.

He was generally known as Shikshâ-guru, and, while speaking of him, the Parsees of his time, did not see the necessity of mentioning his name Kaikhushru. If one spoke of the Shikshâ-guru, all understood, that it was he who was meant. The addition of the word “ji” જી after the appellation shows that he was held in great respect by the Parsees of Broach. He was the maternal grand-father of our Bombay University Registrar, Mr. Furdunji Muncherji Dastur, who is as well known among us here in the sphere of education as his grand-father was among the Parsees of Broach.

Specimens of the
Notes of the *Vahi*.

I give below a few specimens to show how the deaths were registered in the *Vahi*.
હોમા કાઉશ શુ¹ ફકીર અચારને તાં કેલે, *i.e.* “Homa

the son of Kaus. Tell or inform in the family of Fakir ‘Achâr.” The word કેલે *i.e.* “tell” is significant. It occurs now and then. What is meant is, that the particular family—here the family is that of Fakir Achâr—is to be informed in time, of the coming anniversary of the death of Homa the son of Kaus.

2. વહમા² ખુરશેદ શુ સોરાબજી જોગજીને તાં કેલે. જુનો રોજ છે.
“Vahma, Khurshed’s son. Tell the family of Sohrabji Jogaji. This is an old day.”

The words “This is an old day” mean to say that, it is long since the death took place.³ We find a note in pencil opposite the name as “નહી” *i.e.* “No.” It signifies that the

1. શુ seems to be an abbreviation. *Cf.* Sans सुत, son. This is to signify that Homa was the son of Kaus.

2. વહમા (Vahma) is for વહમાન (Vahmân) ‘unnamed’. An infant is spoken of as vahmân. The word is another form of dahmân and means “good”. In the recital of the dead, if a particular person’s name is not known, it is spoken of as “vahmân.”

3. It is generally held, that the anniversaries of deceased ancestors may be observed with due ceremonies for a generation. For example, it is incumbent on a son to observe with ceremonies the anniversaries of the deaths of his parents, but he may or may not do so in the case of his grand-parents. So, the writer takes a note that this case was of a person who had died long before.

person having died a long time ago, the relatives may have said to the family-priest, that they, after this long time, did not want to continue the annual ceremonies in honour of the deceased. So, with this new additional note in his register the family-priest was to cease giving information, in future, to the family for the coming anniversary.

3. The next name runs thus :---

નવરોજ રસ્ટમ શુ. બમકા હીરાનો બાપ દારશા બમકાને તાં

i.e. "Navroj. Rustam ('s son), the father of Bamkâ Hirâ Darasha Bamka's house (to be informed)." Opposite this name also there is a pencil note like the above, saying "No." In this note, the family priest adds that the deceased was the father of Bamka Hira and that the information was to be given to, and orders for the ceremony were to be taken from, the house of Darashaw Bamka. Priesthood among the Parsees being hereditary, such additional notes are intended by the family priest who made the register, not only for his own guidance, but also for his son, grandson, or any other successor who succeeded him as the priest of that particular family.

As there are 30 days in a Parsi month, this *vâhi* contains lists of the death for the 30 days. Each day is marked at the top, e.g. રોજ ૧ માસ ૨ i.e, the 1st day of the second month, and so on for all 30 days.

In some cases, the age of the deceased is given, e.g. in one case, we read ખરશેદબાઈ એદુલજી બા. તે મનચેરશા બમનશા શોરાબજી બનલબાઈની દી. વરસ ૬)ની. Here *ba bhâ* is an abbreviation of બારબ *Bhârajî*, i.e. wife¹. દી. is the abbreviation of દીકરી. i.e. daughter. The whole note means: "Khurshedbai Edulji who was married, was the daughter of Munchershaw Bomonshâ Sohrâbji Dhunjibhoy, aged 6 years". In the case of married women.

1. From Sans. भार, burden. Lit. one who shares your burden, partner in life.

their names are recited, in the commemorative religious services, with the names of their husbands. In the case of unmarried women, they are recited with those of their fathers. In this case, the mention of the age is significant, because children of, or under, seven have a shorter form or set of religious ceremonies and their anniversaries cease to be observed after a short period of years.

II.

Now we come to the second part of my paper, the subject of the martyr Kāmā Homā, an inquiry about whom led me to look into this *Vahi*.

The Note of the death of Kāmā Homā in the Broach *Vahi*

The above-mentioned *Vahi* of Broach takes a note, not only of his death, but of the fact of his having been killed by the Mahomedan Nawab of Broach. On page 7 of the *Vahi* which contains the names of those who died on the seventh day (of the second month Ardibehesht), we read the following note about Kāmā Homā :

“ ગુરોથમાની કામા હોમા શુ. કામા હોમા આશાનો પોતે ફરામ નશેશાહારનો કાફો લાગે. નવાબે દીન કથુલ કરાવવા માંડી તે એને નહીં કાપી તેથી એને ગરદન મારીએ.”

Translation :—The Heavenly Kāmā son of Homā. Kāmā Homā of Āshā himself. He was the uncle of Farām Nassāsalar (*i.e.* the corpse-bearer). The Nawab wanted him to acknowledge the Din (*i.e.* the Mahomedan religion). He did not do so, so he was hanged.

The epithet (ગરોથમાની) *Garothmani* added before his name draws our special attention. This epithet is applied to no other name in the register. The word is *garō-nmāna* in the Avesta (𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀 𐬎𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬀), *garō-demana* in the Gathas, Pahl. 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭩𐭥 *garōt-mān*, which means the House of Songs, from 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀¹ Sans.

1. It may also be derived from *gar*, to be hot. Cf. 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭩𐭥, Pahl. 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭩𐭥, Pers. گرم, Sk. धर्म (Gr. *Thermos*, Lat. *fervor*), hqt. In that case, it may mean House of Lustre or Light.

गर (गु), to sing, and *nmāna* (Pahl. *𐭥𐭩𐭥 mān*, Pers. *من*, Eng. man-sion) "house." So *garothmāni* means one who is a denizen of paradise. The fact, that the epithet is specially applied to him and not to any other person in the list, is due to the extraordinary fact of his having preferred death to avoid conversion. The additional note after his name in the list refers to this martyrdom.

The *Vahi* which I produce is a copy from an older manuscript. Khan Bahadur Adarji Muncherji Dalal, in his abovementioned letter of 4th February 1903, writes: "From an old *𐭥𐭩𐭥*¹ (the roll containing the exact dates of deceased persons, mortuary registers) I find the following entry:—² (He then gives the above entry.) I send the *𐭥𐭩𐭥* which is a copy of the original *𐭥𐭩𐭥* kept by the late Kai-khushru Shikshāgoorujee, late Head Master of Jeejeebhoy Dadabhoy's School of Broach."

Mr. Adarji Dalal, in his above letter, writes: "I have heard some very old Parsees—especially a devout, old orthodox, named Temulji Beragdo, who died about 20 years ago at the age of 95, a pious old man who had spent his life in strict religious observances and Zoroastrian tenets and spent his leisure time in Fire Temples—relate with authority, that when Kama Homa, before he was led for being beheaded, was directed to say the '𐭥𐭩𐭥' (the Islam *𐭥𐭩𐭥 𐭥𐭩𐭥*) and change his faith as he (Kama Homa) being himself a kaffar and had named a *sayed*, a Kaffar, for which the Kajee pronounced 'death' to be the only punishment in default of conversion. Kama strenuously refused and said he did not care for life and preferred 'death' to conversion. It is further related that Nasesālers were kept ready

1. *𐭥𐭩𐭥* "roll."

2. In the manuscript copy which I exhibit, we do not find the year of Kama Homa's death, but it appears from Mr. Adarji Dalal's extract that the date is "Rox 7 Amardād, Māh 2, Ardibehest, Yazdajardi 1072."

there for removing the corpse to the Tower of Silence. The executioner with one stroke severed the head from the body and the head fell into the lap of the Nasesalar and not on the ground. The incident was attributed to his pure life while living and his reward of heaven after the death of a martyr; and in his *Oothamna Ceremony* the learned Dastur denominated the deceased with the title of 'ઝરીયાની' with which Kama's name is handed down. This incident, although unsupported by text or document, has a semblance of truth in it as the persons who related it were pious and truth-loving and they had heard it from those who had witnessed the execution with their own eyes."

The late Khan Bahadur Bomonji Byramji Patel, who had travelled in Gujerat to collect his materials for the *Parsi Prakash* which began to be published in 1878, and who must have himself heard the tradition, thus gives the particulars about Kama Homā:—

The event as
narrated in the
Parsi Prakash.

ખ. સ. ૧૭૦૨

તા. ૮ મી ડીસેમ્બર.

રોજ ૭ માહ ૨ (શી.) ૧૦૭૨ યજ્ઞજરદી.

મરણુ:—કામાજી હોમાજી—ઉમર ૧૪ (૧૪.) એવણુ ભર્યના એક ઝરીયા વણુકર હતા. કેહે છે કે વણુવાની મજુરી આપત કોઇ મુસલમાન શત્રુદ્વેની સાથે તકરાર થવાને લીધે તેને ઝનુનમાં આવી તે વેલાના ભર્યના નવાખ હાંમદ બેગની સરકારમાં એવણુ ઉપર બોહતાન મેલી ફરીયાદ કીધી કે આએ પારસીએ મને કુફર કહ્યો. આથી નવાબે પોતાના કાજ તથા મોલવી પાસેથી શેહરાનાં કાયદા પ્રમાણેનો ફતવો લઇ ધનસાફ કીધો કે એ પારસી અગર પોતાનો ધર્મ તજીને ઇસ્લામી દીન કબુલ કરે તો એનો ગુનાહ માફ કરી છોડી મેલવો, અને જો તેમ નહી કબુલ કરે તો શરેહના ધારા મુજબ તલવારથી એને કતલ કરવાનો શવાબ છે. આવા ધનસાફથી એવણુ પોતાના ધર્મ થી વટલીને જીવેઆ કરતા પોતાની દીન ઉપર જીવ આપવાનું બેહતર વીચારી તલવારની આગુ લેકેન ગયા.

આથી ભરૂચના અથોરનાનો જરથોસ્તી ધર્મને લગતી જાહેર ક્રિયાઓમાં હજી સુધી એવણું નામ બીજા જુનેરગવારોની સાથે યાદ કરે છે.”

(*Parsi Prakash, Vol. I, p. 22.*)¹

From this note we gather the following particulars about Kāmā Homā:—(a) He died on the 8th of December 1702 at the age of 64. (b) He was a weaver by profession. (c) He had a quarrel with a fanatic Mahomedan weaver, who, thereupon accused him before the Mahomedan Governor of Broach, named Hamed Beg. of calling him (the Mahomedan weaver), a *Kāfar*, i.e. an infidel. (d) The Governor consulted the Kāzi or Moulvi of the city, and decided, that in punishment for this crime of calling a Moslem a *Kāfar*, Kāmā Homā shall either turn a Mahomedan or be killed. (e) Kāmā Homā preferred death to conversion. (f) This sacrifice of life for the sake of his religion led to his being considered as a martyr and of his name being commemorated in all religious services by the Parsees of Broach.

Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhoy Bharucha, who hailed from Broach, and who, as a known sound scholar, generally verified his statements before making them, thus describes this event of

Kāmā Homā's life in verse:—²

કામા હોમા-પોતાની દીન ઉપર જીવ આપનાર

એક જરથોસ્તી.

નગર છે નર્મદા તીરે પુરાણ,
ભરૂચ નામે-નથી તે તો અંજણ.
વસે જરથોસ્તીઓ લાં કંઈ જુનરવર,
મુસલમાની હકુમતમાં રહી ઠર.
કરે કામા બીને હોમા વણતકામ,

1. *Vide also B. B. Patel's* પુપ નીરંગ, p. 82.

2. જરથોસ્તી ધર્મનીતિ અંક છઠો, પાક ૬, સફો ૨૬.

બલી દયાનંત થકી પામે ધણું દામ.
 હમેશાં રાસ્ત બોલે, કાલ પાલે,
 ખરા ધનસાધથી સહિ સાથ ચાલે.
 હતો વેહવાર સૈયદ એક સાથે.
 રૂપેઆ આપલે કરવાજ હાથે.
 કળથી એક દીન તકરાર ઉઠી—
 શુણી કામા ઉપર દંરબાર રહી.
 હુકમ કીધો નવાબે ખાસ એવો,
 “પઠે કલમો, નહીં તો જન લેવો.”
 નહીં ફરવા જરથોસ્તી ધરમથી,
 ખરાં ધમાનથી; ના જશુ શરમથી.
 થયો તૈયાર મરવા નેક બેહદીન,
 ન છોડી મઝદયસ્તી પાક આઇન.
 સને જે શેહનશાહી યઝદજદી,
 હજાર ઉપર હતો બેતિર વર્ષી.
 અમરદાદ રોજ અરદીબેહેસ્ત માહે,
 ગુજરયો દીન પરવર નેક રાહે,
 કતલ જલ્લાહ હાથે થઇ મરાયો,
 બલો કામા ખરો બેહદીન જયો!
 મળી જરથોસ્તી અંજુમન કરી યાદ,
 “ગરોથમાની” ઠરાવી નામની યાદ.
 ઘટે છે ધમથી હરગજ ન ફરવું,
 બલે સત ધમ ખાતર થાય મરવું.

THE GAUR-TAPPAS (گور تپاس) OR MOUNDS OF BONE-RECEPTACLES IN ÂZARBAIZÂN.¹

(Read on the 4th August 1926.)

I

At the end of my visit to Europe in 1925, while returning to Bombay from Russia, where I was
Introduction. kindly invited by its Academy of Science at the celebration of its bi-centenary, I passed through Persia. The part of Persia, which I first visited, was Âzarbaizân, the Âtropatene of the Greeks, the Âtarô-pâ'akan (آترپاتکان) of the Pahlavî writers, the Âzarbaizân of Arabic and Persian writers. Âzarbaizân was the first country which Alexander the Great wrested from the hands of the Persians, and it was the first country where the Persians began to throw off the yoke of the successors of Alexander. It is a less frequented part of Persia. Among the modern tourists of Persia, there are few and far between, who visit the country, especially the inner part of the country, away from the shores of the Caspian. I was attracted to it because it is the country generally reported to be that, where Zoroaster, the Prophet of ancient Iran, was born. Its province of Urumiah is generally accepted as the birth country of Zoroaster. But no particular town or village of the province of Urumiah has been mentioned as the birth-

1 This paper was read at the premises of the Prince of Wales Museum, where an *astodan* or ossuary, found at Bushire, was opened in the presence of the audience. A few notes have been added to it since the paper was read.

II

To give a general idea of what a Gaur-tappa is, I will describe it in the words of Prof. Jackson, though I do not agree with him on the subject of its origin. According to him, a Gaur-tappa is a mound or elevation, "composed of immense deposits of ashes mixed with earth, the ashes having been added in many cases to a natural small elevation."¹ Prof. Jackson quotes Mr. E. C. Shedd who says : "In fact, there is scarcely an eminence on the plain which has not been increased, usually to a very great extent, by this means."² There are a number of such mounds in Âzarbai-zân, especially in the province of Urumiah. Prof. Jackson heard the number to be 76—twelve directly in the vicinity of Urumiah and 64 about the lake. I heard the number to be 70 in all.

The word Gaur گور seems to be an old form of modern gabr گبر which is used by Muslims generally for Fire-worshippers or Zoroastrians. I derive the word from kâr گور, blind. The early Mahomedans took all those who did not follow their religion to be mentally blind.³ Tappa is Pers. tappa تپه, a hill.

1 "Persia Past and Present" (1906) by A. V. William Jackson, p. 91. Some speak of Gaur-tappa as gul-tappah (گل تپه). In Turki language they speak of it as chul-tappah.

2 *Ibid.* Prof. Jackson says : "This statement is quoted from a missionary among the Nestorians of Persia, Mr. E. C. Shedd, cited by Dr. W. H. Ward, Notes on Oriental Antiquities in Am. Jour. Archaeology, 6, 286."

3 For an explanation of this word and its derivation, *vide* my paper "An Avesta amulet for contracting friendship" (Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. V, No. 7, pp. 418-25. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 135, ff. The early Mahomedans of

III

On my way to Tabriz from Julfa, by the Persian railway there, I was shown a Gaur-tappa from a distance. Later on, I had the pleasure of inspecting three rather carefully.

Three Gaur-tappas examined by me.

The first Gaur-tappa I inspected was at Delman¹ on 6th October 1925. I spent more than an hour and a half there, made some excavations and collected a few bones with other materials. I beg to produce here these bones for inspection by members.² The bones were here and there mixed up with some pieces of pottery, stones and metal. It took me five minutes to go round its base. It is possible that, years before, the circumference was larger. The constant digging by the cultivators for the removal of the bones for manure gradually lessened the height and the circumference of the tappa.

India seem to have begun using the word in the sense of a *Kafir* or Infidel and applied it even to the Hindus. Amir Khusru thus employs the word. *vide* my paper "Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kiseh-i-Sanjan", p. 79. The Portuguese have turned the name Gaur into Caor or Caori. So, Gaur-tappa means "hills or elevated places of the Gabra, i.e., the ancient Zoroastrians. Or, it may also be gor-tappa i.e. 'a hill of graves' (gor).

I think that the Parsee Gujarati word સ્તાવ (e.g. સ્તાવ-દા સ્તાવ i.e., the steps of a stair-case) is the same word as tappa.

1 Delman is said to be originally Del Maghān دل مغان, i.e. the Heart of the Magas or Magi.

2 I had left the bones at Tehran with Arbab Shahrookh, a well-known member of the Persian Parliament, representing the Parsee community, to be sent on to me to Bombay *via* Bagdad, as I was to travel through Persia; and I learnt from him, later on, that the Persian Government is now very anxious to see, that none of the antiquities go out of the country without its permission; and so, he had great difficulty in sending the bones, as they also were taken to be a kind of antiquities.

The second Gaur-tappa which I saw was at Degalah near the town of Urumiah.¹ I inspected it twice, at first, in the evening of the 7th October 1925 and for the second time in the morning of the 9th October. It is a very great mound, more like a large hill than a mound. I found pieces of bricks and stones mixed with bones. In some places small jars seemed to be embedded. I walked round the base of the hill very fast and it took me 17 minutes to go round. The circumference, years before, must be very large. The highest point of the hill now seemed to be about 80 or 90 feet in some places. I saw muleteers, with about 10 mules, carrying away the powdered bones. The continuous digging at some places created something like small artificial caves, some of which were 40 to 50 feet deep or inwards.²

I had the pleasure of paying a visit to Mar Elia, Bishop of the Armenian Church of Mat Mariam at Urumiah. We had a long talk about the tradition, that Urumiah was the place of the three Magi who went to Palestine to see infant Jesus. He associated Digalah with traditions about Zoroaster and said that formerly the place Digalah was called

1 Urumiah is a very fertile part of Persia. Mrs. Bishop speaks of it as "the Paradise of Persia" (Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan by Mrs. Bishop (1891). Volume II, pp. 217, 285) "Very few European travellers visit Urmi" (*Ibid.* p. 235).

2 I finished my second visit of this Gaur-tappa writing the following remark in my note-book: યુકરે તું દલારની કે આમે બાબતની કોઇ વધુ વાકેશી મેલવવા સકિતવાન કયો, i.e., Thanks to Thee, O God, that you enabled me to gain more knowledge on this subject. I was much delighted with this visit, because I was enabled to understand pretty well the whole question of Astodāns, over which I had the pleasure of reading two papers before this Society, and one, before L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres of the Institute of France, (Seance du 30 Octobre 1889). For this paper, *vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, p. 255 ff.

Dar Soppah, *i.e.* the Door of Pleasure. As I will show, later on, the hill is, as it were, a Hill of the Dead. So, one may be surprised to hear a place for the dead called "the Door of Pleasure". But it seems that, perhaps, it was so called, from the view of euphemism. Even, now a days, some Parsees speak of their places of the disposal of the dead as arām-gah (آرام گاه), *i.e.* "the Place for Rest or Repose." So, this place of Degalah may have been known at one time as the Door of Pleasure. The word "Dar" is significant, because, even now, the Parsees speak of their temples as Dar-i-Meher, *i.e.* the Door of Meher (Mithras).

The third Gaur-tappa, which I examined for about a quarter of an hour, was at a place called Anhar (انهر), about five or six miles from Urumiah. I saw it on 8th October when I was on my way, in the company of my kind host, Haji Alikhan Bahadur, the Hakim of Urumiah and Salmas, to the Kurdish village of Amvi (آملوی), which I take to be the birth-place of Zoroaster. A hasty inspection of this tappa also convinced me that these tappas were connected with an ancient Iranian custom of the disposal of the dead.

I will here speak of what other travellers say of these Gaur-tappas.

IV

Prof. Jackson speaks of these Gaur-tappas as "ash-hills" and says, "The natives all agree in calling them 'hills of the Fire-Worshippers'." Then Prof. Jackson thus describes what is called "the ash hill" at Degalah:—

The Gaur-tappa of Degalah at Urumiah as described by Prof. Jackson.

"The village of Degalah directly adjoins Urumiah. The ash-hill is three or four hundred yards long, nearly as many broad, and a hundred feet or more in height; but its dimen-

sions are constantly being reduced, as the peasants within the past century have discovered the value of the alkaline quality of the ashes for fertilizing purposes and for producing saltpetre. As a consequence, the hill has been burrowed into, tunnelled, trenched, undermined and cut down in scores of places, and the soil carried off to spread upon the adjoining farms... The structure of the mound..... consists of soft earth with stratum upon stratum of solid ashes at varying depths and several feet thick. There is little stone in the mass, but in former times some stone buildings stood on the top of the hill and the village of Degalah is built largely from the stones of these, as I am informed by my colleague, Dr. A. Yo'iannan, who was born there. I understand also that a foundation-wall of burnt brick was discovered sometime ago near the bottom of the hill, 'the bricks measuring at least six inches thick by eighteen to twenty-four inches long'—a statement which would agree with the so-called 'Gabar-bricks' of Zoroastrian structures, which I found elsewhere in Persia.

"In their excavations the workmen are constantly unearthing fragments of pottery, sometimes whole vessels, terracotta figurines, coins, and other remains which show signs of considerable antiquity. The specimens of earthenware are usually of a reddish or brownish clay, the commonest being a round pot with small handles or with a spout. They are generally without decoration, although a few have figures of men and horses, crudely drawn, or bands of colour and other marks of ornamentation upon the surface. Some of the jars are two feet or more in height; I saw such an amphora at a depth of more than twenty feet below the surface in one of the pits into which I went down. It was buried in an upright position in the earth, but was partly broken, so that we did not disturb it, except to scrape some of the debris from around it, which disclosed a few pieces of bones, grains of parched corn, and

ashes in abundance. Potsherds by the hundreds were lying at the bottom and about the mouth of every pit, but I could not learn of a single instance where any inscribed tablet or cylinder had been found among the layers of earth and ashes.

"It is common, when speaking of this and the other ash-hills around Urumiah, to say that they are composed 'entirely of ashes,' but from my examination in the present instance, and my investigations in others, this term is to be taken relatively. I believe, therefore, that Dr. Ward, even though he had not seen them, was right in his impression that they are composed rather 'of clay' which has become mixed with ashes and saturated with nitrous salts of organic composition, and he shows from an old Babylonian sculpture how such mounds could be built up. There is every reason to assume that these elevations were surmounted by sanctuaries dedicated to the worship of fire, even if we do not agree in every detail with the natives, who unanimously attribute the vast accumulation of ashes to the accretions from the fire-temples, the ashes having been scattered over the hill age after age."¹

James Morier on a Gaur- tappa.	James Morier, ² in his account of his travels on lake Urumiah, speaks of a place as Gultapeh. I think the place may have derived its name from there being a Gaur-tappa there.
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Ker Porter on a Gaur-Tappa in Urumiah.	After a day's march from Tamar, Ker Porter came across a Gaur-tappa which he describes at some length. He says:—"The lake (Urumiah) ³ was now left far behind ;
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1 Jackson's Persia, Past and Present (1906), pp. 91-98.

2 A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, by James Morier (1812), 1st ed., 2 vols., Vol. II, p. 296.

3 Ker Porter gives the length of the lake north to south as about 89 miles and breadth 32 miles, circumference about 240 miles (Sir Robert Ker Porter's travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, and Ancient Babylonia (1832), Volume II, p. 606.)

and an hour's ride brought us to the village of Koshkiffandi. Two miles led us through that of Shindara; near which stands a very large mound of earth, excavated on all sides, and very deeply, by the inhabitants, for the purpose of making bricks of its clay for the erection of their poor little houses. The consequent broken ground, taking all sorts of irregular shapes within the huge scooping out of its body, at a little distance gives the whole the singular appearance of a ruined amphitheatre. In former times it, probably, has also been one of the Mithraic *high places*, the name it now bears being the Gaur Tappa; Gaur is a corruption of Gueber, and therefore means the unbeliever's hill'.¹ Thus, we see that Ker Porter took the mound to be a place of Zoroastrian worship.

The mounds, of which Mrs. Bishop, in her travels of the province of Tabriz, speaks as a Atash-Kardah (? Atash-Kadah) or fire-temple seems to be a Gaur-tappa. She says:—

"In the eastern distance rises the fine Mountain Pir Mah and between it and Sain Kala is a curious mound—full of ashes, the people said—a lofty truncated cone, evidently the site of an Atash-Kardah, or fire-temple."²

V

Now, the question is, why were these Gaur-tappas constructed? What was the object?

The purpose for which the Gaur-tappas were built.

Prof. Jackson says:—"There is every reason to assume that these elevations were surmounted by sanctuaries dedicated to the worship of fire, even if we do not

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 606. 7.

² *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan by Mrs. Bishop, Volume II, (1891), page 197.*

agree in every detail with the natives, who unanimously attribute the vast accumulation of ashes to the accretions from the fire-temples, the ashes having been scattered over the hill age after age".¹ In another place also, Prof. Jackson speaks as follows : "At Marand there are the remains of an ash-hillock which is believed to go back to the days of Zoroastrian fire-worship, and like the mounds at Urumiah, to owe its origin to a vast accretion of ashes from a fire-temple."² In another place also, he refers to a Gaor-Tappa and speaks of it as "a mound of ashes, the site of an ancient fire-temple".³

Two views about
the origin of the
Gaor-tappa.

Thus we find that there are two
views about the original object of these
Gaor-tappas.

The one, heard by Prof. Jackson in Persia was, that they were "the accretions of ashes from the adjoining fire-temples". This view is not at all tenable. (a) Firstly, however large the number of the adjoining fire-temples may be, a little thought and the experience of what is actually seen at the fire-temples, more than thirty, at Bombay, show, that when sandal-wood or other fuel is burnt over the sacred fires, the quantities of resulting ashes are so small, that they would not form such large ash-hills. The quantity could not be sufficient to form even one small ash-hillock. So, it would be much less sufficient to form about 70 ash hills round Urumiah. (b) Secondly, the ashes of a fire-temple are held sacred; devoted worshippers apply them to their foreheads. So, a thing held sacred, could not be thrown out to form ash-hills, in the way in which we see them, mixed up with the bones of the dead which are held to carry pollution.

Another view which seems to have been entertained

1 Persia, Past and Present (1906), p. 98.

2 Ibid p. 36.

3 Ibid., p. 121, n. 1.

by Prof. Jackson is that the Gaur-tappas may be the remains of fire-temples or that the mounds had fire-places on their summit for worship. This could not be the case, because large quantities of bones are found in the mounds. The instructions to the ancient Iranians were, that sacred fires must be kept far away from bones and such other things pertaining to the dead.¹

When I inspected the Gaur-tappas, it did not take me long to conclude, that these mounds were the heaps of public *astodāns* or bone receptacles. The Vendidad enjoins that (a) the exposure of the bodies of the dead may be on hills or elevated places and that (b) after the flesh of the bodies is devoured by flesh-eating animals, the bones may be collected in some receptacles and placed underground. So these Gaur-tappas, or what Prof. Jackson calls ash-hills, which term, Prof. Jackson himself says, is inappropriate,² are places for the disposal of the bones. I think that, in some places, there may be, at first, natural hillocks or elevated places, on the tops of which the bodies were exposed to the sun and to the flesh-devouring animals. After the flesh was consumed by these animals, the bones were collected in clay or stone jars or receptacles and interned in the earth on all the sides of the hill; or, perhaps, the first exposure may be on another hill or elevated place and the hills of the Gaur-tappas may be the hills for the disposal of the jars or other receptacles containing the bones of the dead.

In this connection, for a clear grasp of the whole subject of the custom of the disposal of the dead bodies I will refer my readers to my two papers on *Astodans*.³

1 Vendidad, Chap. VIII.

2 *Vide* above.

3 (a) *Astodan* or A Persian Coffin said to be 3000 years old sent to the Museum of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, by Mr. Mal-

One can see from these papers that there were public *astodans* for the poor and private *astodans* for the rich, who can afford to have special jars or receptacles. Again there seemed to be family vaults, wherein small jars containing the bones of individual dead bodies were deposited. So, these Gaur-tappas are nothing but places for the final disposal of the final remains of the dead.

VI

It appears, that this custom, of disposing of the flesh of the dead bodies in a particular way and then preserving the bones in some receptacles, was common to the whole of Asia from Caucasus in the west to Japan in the east. In my travels in the furthest east in 1922, I saw this custom of preserving the bones even in China and Japan. The beautiful cemeteries that one sees in some large cities of Japan¹ are not the cemeteries for the burial of the dead. There, the bodies are cremated by a process, somewhat midway between our ancient Indian custom of burning the dead and the modern process of crematoriums. The Japan cemeteries are places for the deposit of ossuaries or bone-receptacles wherein the charred bones are collected. There, also, families have their own vaults.

coln of Bushire (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. 1, No. 7, pp 4:6-441). (b) Mr. K. Enostransev's Paper on the Ossuaries and Astodans of Turkestan with a few further observations on the Astodans (*Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 5, pp. 331-402). (*Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 7-22 and 295-305), (c) "Quelques Observations sur les Ossuaires, rapportés de Perse par M. Dieulafoy et déposés au Musée du Louvre" (Paper read before L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Séance du 30 Octobre 1889 (*Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 255-260).

1 I had the pleasure of inspecting leisurely in 1912 at Kobe both, the crematorium, where the Japanese burnt their dead according to their custom, and the grand beautiful cemetery where they deposited the jars of the burnt bones of the dead, in family vaults.

I have said above that the custom of preserving the bones of the dead after the consumption of the flesh is common to a large part of Asia. It seems to have been very prevalent also in the countries, adjoining Persia. The mounds, referred to by travellers and writers of Babylonia, are, I think, generally mounds of the types of the Iranian Gaur-tappas. I will speak here on the accounts of such mounds as given by some known travellers.

Relics of some such mounds are found at Babylon. Sir

Mounds at Babylon. Ker Porter's view of them.

Robert Ker Porter (1775-1842) refers to them, in his book of travels in Persia.¹

While describing the ruins of Babylon, he speaks of "certain huge and rugged masses" standing "preeminent".² He also speaks of them as "vaster mounds surrounded by subordinate ranges now bearing the appearance of embankments which, doubtless have been the cause of the interior pile's comparatively unimpaired state".³ He also speaks of them as "piles" or "pre-eminent" mounds.⁴ Ker Porter especially speaks of the third pile as Mujelibé or Maclouba مقلوبه (maqlûbeh, turned, mounted), 'the overturned'. It is "one of the most gigantic masses of brick-formed earth that ever was raised by the labour of man. It is composed of these sun-dried materials, to the present height of 140 feet. The form, an oblong square; facing the four cardinal points. The side to the north measures along its base 552 feet; that to the south 230; that to the east 230; and that to the west 551. The summit is a broad flat yet very uneven Regular lines of clay brick are clearly discernible along

1 Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia and Ancient Babylonia during 1817-1820 (published in A.C. 1820). I had the pleasure of visiting the ruins of Babylon on 24th of October 1925.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 338. 3 *Ibid.*, pp. 338-339. 4 *Ibid.*, p. 339

each face ; and those on the western front bear every trace of a perfectly straight wall, that appears to have cased and parapeted this side of the pile.”¹ Ker Porter gives four views of this Mujelibé.²

Ker Porter's view of the object of these pre-eminent Mounds of Babylon.

Pietro della Valle, 1586-1652, whose book of travels is considered to be “one of the best books of eastern travel”, and Abbé Beauchamp who visited the place in 1782³ are said by Ker Porter to have described these mounds “in such characters as to lead many of the learned in Europe to suppose that they there saw the remains of the temple of Belus”.⁴ Ker Porter shows that this cannot be the remains of the temple of Belus “dedicated by Nebuchadnezzar to the great central worship of his favourite deity”.⁵

Ker Porter himself thinks this mound to be the remains of a ‘Fortified Palace’ by which title he meant “a fortified space, of sufficient extent to contain the terraced habitation of the sovereign, with his courts of pomp and ceremony, his private temples to the gods, his personal treasury, and residences for his officers of state; and besides strong lodgments on the embattled surrounding walls, a fortress or citadel to garrison the royal body guard.”⁶ As to the “inhumed remains” Ker Porter attributes them to some period when the place was besieged.⁷ Ker Porter does not seem to be correct in his conclusion.

(a) However gigantic such mounds are, they are limited in space.⁸ So, “a habitation of the sovereign”, as he speaks of a mound, cannot be the place of the graves of hundreds of soldiers likely to be killed in a siege.⁹

1 *Ibid.*, p. 340.

2 *Ibid.*, Plate LXXVI.

3 Ker Porter's Travels, Volume II, p. 355.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 340.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 346.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 346.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 347.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

(b). Again, if it were a fortified habitation of a sovereign, you cannot expect to have regular sepulchres built for all the soldiers killed in the siege. The skeletons are found not in loose ground but in regularly built cells.

So, the mounds are neither temples nor habitations of sovereigns. They have been believed, and rightly believed, as places of the sepulchres of the dead. Ker Porter thus refers to this theory and tries to oppose it: "With regard to the Mujelibé having originally been intended for a place of a sepulture, had it been so, the magnificence of its dimensions would have demanded its dedication to the sovereigns of Babylon; and, in that case, surely some of the ancient writers, in describing the city, must have mentioned it."¹ But, we must not take it to be the place of sepulchre of any individual sovereign of Babylon. It may be the hill of sepulchre of a royal family, and, as well, of its nobility and gentry. Such mounds, when excavated, show a number of bodies.

So, I think, that the ancient Babylonian mounds of the above kind are places of sepulchre where bones of the dead, after the disposal of the flesh in some way, were deposited in receptacles. It is quite possible, that in several or many cases, the whole bodies may have been deposited in receptacles there, without their flesh being disposed of in some other manner.

At present, when some archæological missions are carrying on excavations in Babylon, I think it will be well, if one or two of them visit Āzarbaizān and carry on some excavations in the Gaur-tappas there, especially in the gigantic Gaur-tappa of Urumiah. I think a little work there will help them much to form their views on the subject.

1 *Ibid*, page 347.

Ker Porter, in his book of travels, speaks of some bone-urns found among the ruins of Babylon.

Ker Porter on the Urns found at Babylon. He, at first, quotes Mr. Rich, referred to above, who says that, on an embankment of the river Euphrates, he found "a number of urns filled with human bones which had not undergone the action of the fire". He then adds:—"Mr. Rich in the Ms. of his second memoir mentions that these urns contained ashes, the bones that were amongst them being only in small fragments. Comparing these remains with the skeletons discovered in the northern part of the Mujelibé, he judiciously remarks that the two modes of sepulture decidedly prove what people they were who had been so interred."

Claude James Rich, in his book on the Ruins of Babylon,¹ thus refers to the sepulchral

Rich on sepulchral urns at Babylon. urns found at Babylon:—"There is another equally remarkable circumstance in these ruins, and which is almost conclusive with respect to their antiquity. In the very heart of the mound called the Kassr, and also in the ruins on the bank of the river, which have been crumbled and shivered by the action of the water, I saw earthen urns filled with ashes, with some small fragments of bones in them; and in the northern face of the Mujelibé I discovered a gallery filled with skeletons inclosed in wooden coffins. Of the high antiquity of the sepulchral urns no one will for an instant doubt; and that of the skeletons is sufficiently ascertained, both from the mode of burial, which has never been practised in this country since the introduction of Islam and still more by a curious brass ornament which I found in one of the coffins. These discoveries are of the most interest-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

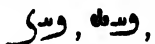



² Memoir of the Ruins of Babylon, 3rd Edition (1818), second Memoir, pp. 28-29.

ing nature and though it is certainly difficult to reconcile them with any theory of these ruins yet in themselves they sufficiently establish their antiquity. The two separate modes of burial too are highly worthy of attention. There is, I believe, no reason to suppose that the Babylonians buried their dead; the old Persian, we know, never did. It is not impossible that the difference may indicate the several usages of the Babylonians and Greeks, and that the urns may contain the ashes of the soldiers of Alexander and of his successors."

Thus, both Ker Porter and Rich say that "the ancient Greeks preserved the bones after cremating the body". I think that the bones may be not of the invading Greeks but of the people of the land, who may be exposing their dead and then preserving the bones after the destruction of the flesh in urns.

Mr. Rich speaks of "urns with ashes" and "a gallery filled with skeletons". The question of ashes puzzles me. Prof. Jackson also speaks of the Gaur-tappas as "ash-hills". I think that it may be the powdered bones that may have looked like "ashes". In my small excavations at the site of the first Gaur-tappa that I visited in Āzarbaizān, I saw no sign of the custom of burning. The bones which I have brought from there and which I exhibit here show no signs of burning. Again, the bones of the Astodan from Bushire which we have just opened show no signs of burning. So, I come to the following conclusions: (a) Either these observers have taken the dust of the bones—bones powdered into dust during the very long period of the time that expired after the disposal of the body and the interment of the bones into urns—for ashes; (b) or, it is possible, that the mounds may be of two classes. (1) One, of a people who at first resorted to

burning and then to the preservation of bones or ashes, just as I saw the Japanese at Kobe doing and (2) another, of a people who first disposed of the flesh by exposure to the sun and to flesh devouring animals. In the second case, the people were the Zoroastrian Iranians, and, in the first, some other people, who, as said by Rich, were not the Babylonians who did not resort to the custom of burning. I beg to suggest that what has been supposed to be ashes, though really powdered bones, may be the result of some substances like bitumen etc. mixed with the bones, which have been found in some urns.

In this connection I may refer to some recent excavations at Susa, which have led scholars, like Dr. Jamshedji Manockji Unwalla,¹ to think, that in that part of the country there prevailed the custom of burning. If so, that was pre-Zoroastrian. Again, from the fact, that the Parsee word "dakhma" now used for a Tower of Silence is derived from the root , Sk. , Pahl. , Gujerati , "to burn", it is inferred by some scholars that the pre-Zoroastrian custom of the disposal of the dead in some parts of Persia may be that of burning.

VII APPENDIX

At the end of my journey I was at Bushire. On 29th November, in the evening, while taking a walk on the sea-shore at Ri, which is somewhat like a suburb of Bushire, I found that the sea was encroaching over the land there, and that, while doing so, it exposed a part of an elevated place. I saw clearly that there were some bones in the clay. My first paper on the Astodan was suggested to me by a stone

¹ *Vide* his papers on the Religion of the Parthians.

² *Vide* K. R. Cama's *Zarthoshti Abhyas* (Zoroastrian Studies), pp. 28-30 where he shows, that all the modern words, like tomb, epitaph, funeral, bust, point to the very old custom of burning.

astodan sent from Bushire. So, on inquiry, I learnt, that such jars are still found there occasionally. I had asked a friend to get one dug out freshly for me. He kindly did so and sent me a jar. I had opened it, just before reading my paper, in the presence of Dr. Nadgir, Professor of Anatomy at the Grand Medical College, who had kindly attended at my request. I had exhibited this *astodan* and had requested Dr. Y. G. Nadgir to kindly examine the bones leisurely and submit a report.

He has kindly submitted his report dated 4th September 1926 and I beg to thank him for it. It is printed below. This *astodan* is presented by me with my letter dated 24th August 1926 to the Prince of Wales Museum.

DR. Y. G. NADGIR'S REPORT ON THE BONES
CONTAINED IN AN URN BROUGHT BY DR.
JIVANJI J. MODI, PH.D., FROM PERSIA.

The bones were found well packed.

The following human bones were identified:—

(1) *The Skull*

was intact except for an opening in the vault at the site of anterior Fontanelle. The sutures were well-defined. The mastoid processes were well-formed and prominent. The basisphenoid was ossified and united to the basioccipital. Sixteen sockets were noticed in the maxilla (upper jaw). 3 molars on the left side and 2 on the right were intact. All the remaining teeth had fallen out.

(2) A portion of the ramus and body of the Mandible.

(3) *Vertebrae*.

7 Cervical, 10 dorsal, 5 lumbar and the Sacrum were identified. 3 out of the 7 cervical vertebrae are intact; the remaining are broken.

The dorsal and lumbar vertebrae are intact.

The lower 4 pieces of Sacrum are joined together; the bodies of first and second pieces are not completely united.

(4) *Sternum and Ribs.*

Portion of Sternum, first rib and 12 pieces of ribs are found.

(5) *Upper Extremity.*

Scapula—Portions of both Scapulae found.

Left clavicle—Sternal end broken. Acromial portion of right Clavicle also present.

Humerus—Right Humerus—Head, lower end together with lower half of Shaft present.

Ulna—Upper portions of right and left Ulna present. Lower portions not found.

Radius—Upper end of one Radius only present.

Hand—6 bones of the Carpus—2 Hamate, 2 Capitate and 2 Multangulum majus present.

6 Metacarpals found.

(7) *Lower Extremity.*

Pelvic bones—Portion of Os innominate present. The Sciatic notch acute. The diameter of the Acetabulum is $1\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Femur—Head and lower end of left Femur present.

Tibia—Shaft and upper end of left Tibia present.

Condyles of right Tibia and lower ends of both Tibiae present.

The Tibia shows distinct evidence of Periostitis about the lower third.

Foot—

Calcaneum—Left intact; portion of right present.

Talus—both bones intact.

Navicular— do do.

Cuboid—One bone only present.

Cuneiform—5 Cuneiform bones present, 1 missing.

1st Metatarsal—Both bones present.

7 Metatarsals—(only one Metatarsal absent).

18 Phalanges present.

The bones belong to a fully developed adult male person. As all the teeth sockets are intact, it is probable the person was about 35 to 40 years old.

The bones are very brittle and crumble very easily. The roots of teeth are also brittle, but the crowns are still hard and intact.

Y. G. Nadgir,
Professor of Anatomy,
Grant Medical College.

PROPHYLACTIC DISGUISE FOR AVERTING EVIL.¹

The subject of this paper is suggested by the Presidential address, delivered by the out-going President Mr. Henry Balfour, at the annual meeting of the Folklore Society on 20th February 1924.² The subject of the address was "The Geographical Study of Folklore," which was "illustrated by a number of hippocampus charms and amulets from different parts of the world".³ Mr. Balfour advocated in his address "the study of the geographical dispersal of particular ideas, beliefs, observances and classes of objects coming within the purview of folklore, coupled with the preparation of maps, illustrating clearly and concisely their distribution".⁴

As an example, Mr. Balfour mentioned the case of belief in a "prophylactic disguise". He said: "Among the numerous and varied prophylactic expedients resorted to by man in his endeavour to avert the incidence of that widespread terror, the 'evil' or 'envious eye', and other dangerous influences, is that of assuming disguise. The disguise may aim at suggesting an 'alias' to conceal the real identity of the person; but more frequently the purpose is to make the potential victim appear to be unworthy of the attention of the malign powers..... The disguise is liable to be a very 'thin' one; but then, the evil

1 This paper was read before the Folklore Section of the Third Oriental Conference, held at Madras in December 1924, and printed in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIV, No. 4.

2 The Journal of the Folklore Society of March 1924, Vol. XXXV, No. 1.

3 *Ibid.* p. 7.

4 *Ibid.* p. 18.

eye, though dreaded as a powerful agent, capable of wreaking infinite harm when its glance falls upon a victim, is, fortunately, singularly unobservant and almost childishly gullible. It may be diverted by absurdly simple means.”¹

The beliefs and practices of prophylactic disguises for averting evils are prevalent in various parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; and Mr. Balfour suggests that maps may be drawn on which the places on the variants of the prophylactic disguises may be marked. A comparative study from maps like these will enable us to determine as to how these practices prevailed in distant countries. This will enable us “to consider, whether we are dealing with a united phylogenetic group, the items of which are related through a common inheritance from a single ancestral prototype; whether the wide dispersal is due to *diffusion from an original centre* through racial migration or as the result of culture-contact, or both; or whether, to some extent, the same expedients may have been *independently* hit upon by two or more peoples, as a means of combatting mysterious, unseen and malign influences, the nature of the qualities and activities of which has been interpreted in similar fashion.”²

The object of this brief paper is to submit a few cases of such prophylactic disguises in Bombay, especially in my Parsi community. Thus Bombay also will find a place in the proposed map.

These disguises, as treated by Mr. Balfour, are divided¹

Kinds of Prophylactic Disguise. into two main divisions:

I. Nominal disguises which consist of a change of names. This can be sub-divided into :

(A) Naming children after wild beasts.

1 *Ibid.* pp. 19-20.

2 *Ibid.* p. 23.

(B) Giving opprobrious names : This again may be sub-divided into:

(a) Giving names of girls to boys "girls being generally to be of lesser value than boys".

(b) Giving names signifying, that the holders are persons of less value.

II. Depreciatory disguises. This can be sub-divided into:

(A) Smearing the face of a child to make it less attractive.

(B) Dressing it shabbily.

(C) Sex-disguise:

(a) Proclaiming the birth of a boy as that of a girl.

(b) Perforating the nose or the ear of a boy like a girl.

(c) Allowing the growth of long hair in a boy, so as to make him appear like a girl.

The first disguise of the above kind, referred to by Mr.

Nominal dis- Balfour, is of a change of names "with a
guises. The change view to driving malevolent influences".
of name.

The practice is prevalent, says Mr. Balfour, in Kingsmill Islands, Borneo, Abyssinia, among the Lapps and also among the Jews and in Sussex. It is also prevalent among some parts of the New World. As an illustration of this kind of disguise on our side, I think, one can refer to the practice, occasionally observed, of the change of the names of a bride after marriage. We, Parsees, at times hear of a lady's મહારજ નામ and સારજ નામ i.e., her (original) in name used at her parents' house and the assumed name.

given to her by her husband's parents. For example, if a lady's name is Pirojbai at her parents, it may be Shirinbai at her husband's. Why is this done? The present mater-familias does not know that. I think, the reason is that referred to by Mr. Balfour. A married life is a happy life. It was specially considered to be so in ancient Iran.¹ So, the young bride, when she enters into this life, may very likely attract to her happiness, evil or envious eyes. In my paper on "The custom of the wife or the husband not naming her husband or his wife,"² we have seen, that this was done with a view to avoid the chance of evil-minded men or the evil powers knowing the proper name of the party, whereby the latter can exert evil influences on the party. On her death, in the recital of the funeral ceremonies, it is the first real parental name that is again resorted to and recited.

As an illustration of another form of this disguise of names, Mr. Balfour says: "A sickly child, or one whose brethren have previously died, may be given the name of a wild beast, as in Syria and Arabia, to make it appear of little account, in the hope of its escaping the evil influence at work." We have nothing like this here among the Parsees. But, Mr. Balfour refers to a practice, whereby "an opprobrious name is given to a child, to depreciate its apparent value". This is done in the case of "a sickly child or one whose brethren have previously died" as an alternative of the custom of giving the name of a wild beast. We find this practice here. For example, in such a case the name given to a male child is "Fakirji", i.e., a beggar, an ascetic. This is a case of what is called "nominal disguise".

¹ Vide the chapter on Marriage in my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees".

⁽²⁾ Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XII, pp. 801—16.

Mr. Balfour refers, for what he calls "depreciatory Depreciatory dis- disguises," to the practice of making a child guise. "unattractive by smearing its face with

dirt or by dressing it very shabbily, so that it may be passed over and escape attention by reason of its seeming unworthiness". We have a counterpart of the practice in mothers putting black spots on the face of their children. If a child looks unusually healthy or attractive, or if the child is too well-dressed so as to attract attention, this practice is resorted to, when the child goes out of home. A black spot is generally made on one of the temples of the head or both.

(a) An instance of "stimulated change of sex" is Sex-disguise. that where "a new-born boy may merely

be proclaimed to be a girl for prophylactic purposes". We hear of such cases in Bombay, at times, among the Parsees also. When a male child is born, they purposely announce that a female child is born. The sex-disguise is kept up only for a short time. On asking the reason, I was told by a lady, that the reason is to prevent the mother from being over-joyed with the glad news, the consequence of which over-joy may be bad from the point of view of health. The reason does not seem to be probable, because the consequences of depression on hearing that the child born was female, may be as bad or perhaps worse. The proper reason seems to be to deceive evil-minded persons from exercising their evil influences on the male child when it is just born and is therefore not strong enough to resist even the smallest result of evil influences or wishes.

(b) According to our author, the sex-disguise at times takes "the form of perforating the nose of an infant son and inserting the nose-ring—an adornment which strictly belongs to female noses". Among some people here, the ears of the male child are bored for ear-rings which are

generally put on by girls. I have not come across cases, in my community, of noses of male children being bored for nose-rings, but have seen ears bored for ear-rings like those put on by women. I have even seen rare case of males putting on ear-rings upto a grown up age.

As another alternative of sex-disguise, we found, among the Parsees, upto a few years ago, the practice of allowing long curls of hair, known as *bābri* (બાબરી) on the heads of boys. It is only girls that keep long hair. The hair on the heads of boys are generally cut. But when the boys are born sickly or die in childhood, the next born boy is made to go through a kind of sex-disguise. His hair are not cut and allowed to grow long like those of girls, so that, from appearance, one would mistake him for a girl. Some mothers took a vow that the hair will be so kept long until such and such an age. They then take the child to the old Fire-temple of Udwada, and it is there that the hair are cut before or after the offering of sandalwood etc. and prayers to the sacred Fire.

A NOTE ON THE ORIGINAL HOME OF, AND THE INDIAN FOLKLORE ABOUT, THE COCOANUT.¹

A very interesting article, entitled "The Original Home and Mode of Dispersal of the Coconut" in the *Nature* of 27th July 1929 (pp. 133 *et seq*) from the pen of Dr. Arthur W. Hill, has suggested to me the thought of submitting this note. The article discusses the question of the "Original Home" of this nut which plays a prominent part in the social and religious life of the Indians, including the modern Parsees.

Some writers "consider the cocoanut originated in the Indian Archipelago or in the Pacific Islands". Others attempt "to prove that its origin was in the valleys of the Andes of Colombia in South America, and that it was transported thence, entirely by human agency, far and wide across the tropical seas". The author of the above article, after placing before his readers and discussing the views of various writers, concludes that "the Polynesian or East Indian Islands are the original home of the coconut palm" (p. 153). The botanist, de Candolle, is of the same view and thinks that its origin is Asiatic and that the Indian Archipelago is its original home from which it went to Africa and America more than three thousand years ago and to Ceylon, India and China about three thousand years ago.²

¹ This paper was read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 26th November 1929 and printed in *Journal* Vol. XIV, No. 4, pp. 516-524.

² After writing this paper I have seen another article in the *Nature* of 5th October 1929. It also says that America was not the

One of the arguments which the author of the above article advances for the eastern home of the cocoanut is this: "Another fact which lends support to the original home of the cocoanut being the Indian Archipelago or Polynesia is the great variety of the cocoanuts now found in the East. Many of these varieties have well-marked characteristics such as colour of the nuts, thickness of the husks, etc., and many of these special kinds are grown specially for religious ceremonies among the Hindus, which also points to the palm being of great antiquity in South India."

Garcia da Orta¹ explains to us the origin of the name cocoanut. He says: "Coming to the names I say that it is (i.e., the tree) is called Maro² and the fruit Narel

original home of the cocoanut. The writer says:—"Almost simultaneously with the publication of my article under this title in the *Nature* of July 27, Dr. John K. Small, Head Curator of the Museums, New York Botanical Garden, published an article on 'The Early History of the Coconut Palm,' in the *Journal of the New York Botanical Garden*, for July.... He considered, there seems to be no evidence pointing to the probability of its American origin".

1 "Coloquios dos simples e drogas tu Cousas medicinais da India, Compostos pello Doutor Garcia da Orta", i.e., Colloquies on the Samples and Drugs of India by Doctor Garcia da Orta (*Vide* Sir Clements Markham's Translation (1913), pp. 188-39.)

"Garcia da Orta was born in about 1490 or perhaps a few years later, at Elvas..... near the Spanish frontier." He came to Goa in September 1534 as a doctor accompanying Marhen Affonso de Sousa who was Governor of Goa from 1542 to 1545. "In about 1534 he was granted a long lease of the island of Bombay which he sub-let" (*Ibid.*, p. IX). According to Markham, at that time, Bombay Island was only one of the several islets separated by channels. "The Bombay of Garcia da Orta" was scarcely a tenth part of the present island" (*Ibid. vide* Cunha's Origin of Bombay). Luis Camoens, the great poet of Portugal, was a great friend of Garcia da Orta in whose Bombay house, he seems to have lived for some time and even to have found "materials for the last two cantos" of his well-known poem, *Os Lusíadas*. I had an occasion of seeing his tomb in 1922 in China.

2 Our modern word, MAHR (महूर).

and this word Narel is common to all,¹ for it is used by Persians and Arabs. Avicenna² calls it Janzia hindi³ which means 'nut of India'. Serapio and Rais call the tree Jaralnari⁴ which means the tree that yields coco. The Malabar people call the tree Lengamaram,⁵ and the fruit, when it is ripe Tenga.⁶ The Malays call the tree Tricam⁷ and the cocoanut Nihar and we, the Portuguese, with

1 It is Sans. नारिकेल or नारिकेल (Apte's Dictionary). This word is variously written. Our Gujarati word is નારીયેલ (nāliyer).

2 I had the occasion of seeing on 17th October 1925 his tomb at Hamadan in Persia, where his name was known as that of a great Doctor. The tomb has on it a number of verses of which the following struck me as very significant :

Aâ zât-i tô bar kûl mamâlek mâlek.

Vaâ râh-i ravân kûi-i eshkat sâlek

i.e., Your soul is the possessor of all countries (i.e., you are known everywhere). The way of the soul is devoted to your love. (Vide my Book of Travels of 1925, p. 375).

3 "Arab. جوزي هندی a cocoanut" (Steingass). جوز is Pers. guuz کوز. In Persian, it is نارگیل nārgil or نارجیل nārjil. The Persians, at times, following the Portuguese, use the word قاقاوه also.

4 "Jaralnari, the Narel tree." The word Jara seems to be Indian Jhâr or Jhâd (जहद), i.e., tree.

5 "The Southern tree", i.e., introduced from Ceylon. In this compound word the first word may be Lenga which, I think, is Lankâ (लङ्का), an Indian name for Ceylon, and the word mara is the above word मरुत.

6 "The Southerner", i.e., the nut originally coming from Ceylon. During my visit of Ceylon in December 1924, I found that the beauty of the inland mountain scenery was mainly due to its beautiful cocoanut trees.

7 "Trinarajah, 'King of Grasses', is a Sansc. name for cocoanut palm". According to Apte's Sanskrit Dictionary (p. 322, col. 2) तरिराज, tari-râja, i.e., the king of trees, is rather the Palmyra tree. Here the word tari is our modern Gujarati તરી તદ. The City of Palmyra in Syria has another name as Tadmor in the Old Testament.

reference to these three holes gave it the name of Coco,¹ because it seems like the face of an ape or other animal". Garcia da Orta then proceeds to describe the various uses of the cocoanut tree.

As a layman, I cannot venture to give my view on the above subject about the original home of the cocoanut. But I beg to draw attention to a story of the Indian folklore, which points to Ceylon, an island of India, as the very first home of the cocoanut at the hand of God. This origin of the cocoanut in Ceylon is thus referred to in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of January 1891.²

" The story runs that at one time there lived in a kingdom of the East a mighty king, resplendent with glory and surrounded by a large retinue of ministers, among whom were several wise men—both physicians and astrologers. These latter, by observing the stars and the courses of heavenly bodies, professed to predict events and fix on 'lucky' days and hours, and made reports of the results of their observations to the king. The astrologers royal, though well remunerated, were in no little dread of His Majesty who, if ever their predictions proved incorrect, immediately condemned them to be beheaded.

1 Spanish *Macoco* for monkey-faced.

2 pp. 139 *et seq.* Prof. A. X. Soares of the Baroda College derives the word in a different manner. He writes to me in his letter, dated 11th November 1929: " I read with great interest your account of the Original Home of the Cocoanut in Saturday's issue of the *Times of India*. May I point out that the original of the Portuguese from which cocoanut is derived is *coco* in the sense of a bugbear, some mask to frighten children with and not *macaco* which means monkey. I am bringing out for the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 'Dalgado's Influence of Portuguese on Asiatic languages,' which has been Englished by me, added to, and as far as it was possible for me to do, brought up to date."

One day a learned astrologer of the Berawaya (tom-tom beater) caste, noted for his erudition, discovered, after careful observation and calculation, that a certain day was exceedingly 'lucky' for planting trees—in fact he went so far as to declare that anything, no matter what, planted at a certain hour on that day would be sure to grow into a tree, which would be a great boon to humanity. The king having been informed of this, though much gratified, was yet not altogether pleased with the bold assurance of the man, and thinking to puzzle him, inquired whether the astrologer's head, if laid on a stone would there develop roots and grow into a tree. The answer was in the affirmative; and to the great astonishment of the astrologer the king forthwith ordered the experiment to be carried out. The severed head was accordingly laid upon the stone, and after a time, lo! the noble cocoanut palm—the tree of a thousand uses—sprang up. And to this day it is supposed the resemblance of the cocoanut to the head of the astrologer is preserved, for, taking the husked nut as representing the head, the fibre represents the hair with the top-knot (Konde) while the eyes and mouth are also supposed to be represented by the three depressions.”¹

Dr. Hill refers to the use of the cocoanut in the religious ceremonies of the Hindus. I will leave it to my Hindu friends to speak of these ceremonies, but I will present

Cocoanut in
Parsee social ce-
remonies.

here a Parsee view of the use of the cocoanut in social ceremonies. Among the Parsees, the cocoanut is important not so much in religious ceremonies, as in social ceremonies. In social ceremonies for welcoming a near relative like the bride or bridegroom, a cocoanut is broken on the threshold of the house before she or he enters the house. What does this signify? I think that it possibly signifies

1. Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Volume XII.

a remnant of the very very old custom of human sacrifice or animal sacrifice. The above folklore seems to explain it. The cocoanut represents a man's head. So, the breaking of a head is a relic of some old human sacrifice. The breaking of an egg at the threshold is similarly significant. It is the relic of the custom of animal sacrifice.

Now, just as the cocoanut is presented in welcoming persons who are near and dear, it is presented when bidding farewell. It is not broken on the occasion. It is given as a sign of good luck. Instead of a human sacrifice, sacrifice of a human life, it signifies the presentation of, as it were, an additional human being or beings. Thus, it symbolizes prosperity and good luck.

Cocoanuts play a prominent part in the pregnancy ceremonies and customs. A kind of sweetmeat balls, known as *agharni na lādvā* (ਅਘਰਨੀ ਨਾ ਲਾੜਵਾ) are prepared for the occasion and given to the lady who is *enceinte* to be held within the folds of her *sāri*. These sweetmeat balls are made of the shape of cocoanuts. So, here, they, as a sweet substitute for the cocoanuts, signify prosperity and good luck, expressing the expectancy of many new heads, i.e. children in the family.

It seems that it is this belief about the presentation of a cocoanut as good omen that has given origin to the proverb ਗੋਲ ਜੀਵਨ ਘਰ ਚਲੇ ਜਾਵੇ. When a person goes out on a travel or voyage, he is generally presented with a cocoanut. *Gol* or molasses or some sweet things are given to him to be tasted. These signify a good wish that he may always get sufficient and good food during his travels. The words are now humorously used when a person is dismissed from service, to signify that he was asked to go out of the house. Here the words are ਗੋਲ ਜੀਵਨ, i.e. green cocoanut, perhaps because a green or unripe cocoanut does not remain long in good condition. If kept long, it gets rotten and has to be thrown away.

The view of presenting a parting guest or a relative with some fruit significant of good omen is still prevalent in Persia. I remember that, when we travelled in Persia in the towns which are Zoroastrian centres, they presented us, while parting, a number of pomegranates.

The cocoanut is spoken of, among Hindus as a "shrifal" (श्रीफल), i.e. the fruit of wealth or good luck.

There is an old idea, now said to be exploded by botanists, that "the cocoanut tree grows well to normal maturity only in the immediate vicinity of the sea or ocean, on account of its being a salt-loving plant and in constantly humid tropical countries near the sea shore.¹ It is this view which explains the name "Nalieri Punem" (ନାଲିଆରି ପୁଣମ), i.e. the full moon night of the cocoanuts, for the "Balev" (ବାଲେବ) holiday, of which we speak as the Cocoanut Holiday when thousands and thousands of cocoanuts are offered to the sea as sacrifice. Similarly, when people cross a sea, cocoanuts are thrown into the sea as sacrifices. It is a common sight for us to see from the railway train passing over the bridge over the Bassein creek, that passengers throw a number of cocoanuts into the creek. It is a sacrifice, intimating, that the people who travel offer their homage to the sea by giving to it the fruit which grows on its shores, and it is significant, that the seamen, who themselves offer such sacrifices on occasions, move about in their boats near the bridge to pick up the cocoanuts, and thus add a pittance to their daily income.

Another question about this cocoanut palm is whether Is the aid of "they could germinate without the aid Man necessary for of man". Some writers say:—"It is its germination? highly improbable that sea-borne cocoa-

¹ "Anthropology of Syrian Christians," by Rao Bahadur L. K. A. Ayyar, page 222.

nut could ever be cast upon a shore in such a favourable position that they could germinate without the aid of man." Others say that it is possible, and that cocoanut trees are the common strand palms on almost every tropical island and that they were found well-established when many of these uninhabited islands were discovered. Our author of the above-named article comes to the conclusion "that ocean-borne nuts can germinate when washed ashore on an uninhabited island and become established without the intervention of human agency".¹

The Indian view is that the cocoanut palm-tree is what may be called a truly domestic tree, i.e., a tree that requires much personal attention by the owner. In Malabar, Cochin and Travancore there runs a proverb which says that "this tree will not grow further than a man's voice can extend from his dwelling",² meaning thereby that it requires an amount of personal attention from the owner.

I will conclude this note with an extract from the "Anthropology of the Syrian Christians," which sums up the various uses of the cocoanut trees, thus:—

"Thus to an inhabitant of a village in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore cocoanut palm calls up a wide range of ideas. It associates itself with nearly every want and convenience of his life. It may tempt him to assert, that if he were placed upon the earth with nothing else whatever to minister to his necessities than the cocoanut tree, he could pass his existence in happiness and content. When the villager has lost one of these trees after it has ceased bearing with its trunk he builds his hut and bullock stalls, which he thatches with its leaves. His bolt and bars, slip of the bark by which he also suspends the small shelf which folds the stock of home-made utensils and vessels.

1 "Anthropology of the Syrian Christians," by Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantakrishna Ayyar (1926), p. 222.

2 *Ibid.* pp. 233, 234.

He fences his little plot of kitchen gardens with the leaf stalk. The infant is swung to sleep in a shoe net of coir string made from the husks of the fruit. Its meal of rice with scraped cocoanut is boiled over a fire of cocoanut shells and husks, and is eaten of a dish formed of the plated green leaves of the tree with a spoon cut out of the nut shell. When he goes a-fishing by torchlight his net is a cocoanut fibre. The torch is a bundle of dry cocoanut leaves and flower stalks. The little canoe is a trunk of the cocoanut palm tree hollowed out by his own hands. He carries home his net and his string of fish on a yoke of pins formed by cocoanut stalks. When he is thirsty he drinks of the fresh juice of the young nut; when he is hungry he eats its soft kernel. If he has a mind to be merry he sips of a glass of arrack distilled from the fermented juice of the palm and dances to the music of rude cocoanut castanets. If he be merry he quaffs toddy or the unfermented juice, and he flavours his curry with vinegar made from his toddy. Should he be sick, his body will be rubbed with cocoanut oil. He sweetens his coffee with jaggery or cocoanut sugar and softens with cocoanut milk, and it is sipped by the light of a lamp constructed from a cocoanut shell and fed by cocoanut oil. His doors, his windows, his shelves, his chairs, the water-gutter under the eaves, are all made from the wood of the tree. His spoons, his forks, his basins, his mugs, his salt-cellars, his child's money-box, his jars, are all constructed from the shell of the nut. Over his couch when born, and over his grave when buried, a branch of cocoanut blossoms is hung to charm away evil spirits. This is a true picture of all the importance of the 'Prince of Palms' to the inhabitants of the tropical regions."

They say that, in Malabar, a father plants five cocoanut palms whenever a male child is born to him. The produce of five cocoanut palms was thought to be sufficient to maintain a person.

A FEW BELIEFS OF THE WEST. THEIR PARALLELS IN THE EAST.¹

In my paper "A Few Superstitions common to Europe and India", read before the Introduction.

Society on 30th April 1890, I have referred to some superstitions in Europe, which came under my observation and hearing, when travelling in Europe from July to December 1889, and which were known in India also.² In some of my other papers here and there, I have referred to some beliefs and customs that are common to Europe and India. This paper is in the same above line, and it is suggested to me by "Miscellaneous Notes in Folk-Lore", given in some issues of the *Folk-Lore* of 1920 (Volume XXXI). I had taken notes when reading them and I now propose working these notes out in this paper.

Rev. W. Fothergill Robinson, of the Vicarage of Bloxham, Banbury in Oxfordshire, writes thus to the editor of the *Folk-Lore* of 1920 (p. 77): "I think that you may be inter-

1. Hair Clip-
pings.

1 This paper was read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 10th January 1930 and printed in Journal No. 5, Vol. XIV, pp. 579-587.

2 *Vide* Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 161-171. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 22-23.

ested to hear that there still survives in these parts the idea that cut hair ends should be carefully collected. To-night I was having my hair cut, and, being very warm, I had it done in the garden; I told the servants that there was no need of a cloth under the chair as I always have indoors. I laughed over this with the barber, as a cloth had been solemnly laid, in spite of what I had told the servants, and he replied, 'of course they know that if the birds pick up stray pieces of your hair, you will get a headache'.'¹

Mr. R. Campbell Thompson, in his "Semitic Magic", while speaking on exorcism says thus:—"In all magic, three things are necessary for perfect exorcism. First the word, the Word of Power, by which the sorcerer invokes divine or supernatural aid to influence the object of his undertaking. Secondly, the knowledge of the name² or description of the person or demon he is working his charms against, with something more tangible, be it nail-parings or hair, in the human case. Thirdly, some drug, to which was originally ascribed a power vouchsafed by the gods for the welfare of mankind, some charm or amulet, or, in the broadest sense, something material, even a vase figure or 'atonement' sacrifice, to aid the physician in his final efforts. Almost all incantations can be split up into three main divisions, each with its origin in these three desideratives"³

We see from this passage, that in the case of exercising magic over a person, the second of the above three deside-

1 *Folk-Lore* of March 1920, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, p. 77.

2 *Vide* my paper, "The Indian Custom of a Husband or Wife, not naming his Wife or Husband", *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 301-16. *Vide* my *Anthropological Papers*, Part III, pp. 114-29.

3 "Semitic Magic" by R. C. Thompson, Introduction p. XLVI.

ratives is necessary. Either the knowledge of the name of the person upon whom one wants to exercise magic, or some tangible things, like his nail-pairings or hair, are necessary. So, in the above case, we find a reference to hair. The servants wanted to see that the hair were not left in an open place, uncared for, lest any bird may carry away the hair somewhere. The original idea at the bottom seems to be, that the hair may not go, perchance, into the hands of a magician, through the hands of an enemy, who could ask the magician to exercise his magic, on his behalf, on the person to whom the hair belonged. Mr. Thompson says:—"Much of the magician's art consisted in his ability to transfer a spiritual power from its abode into some object under his control.....This force..... is a species of sorcery which shows itself in its crudest form in the use of small figures of wax..... in the likeness of some enemy.....By the recognized rules of magic, it is considered more effective to obtain some portion of the victim's nail or hair, or earth from his foot-steps, or even his name, as an additional connection whereby the wax figure may be brought into still closer affinity with its prototype".¹

Mr. Thompson in his above book, speaks of a Persian named "Rabban Hormizd the Persian" who was a Christian monk. He is spoken of as banning "the devils of the impure Ignatius" with the words 'By Jesus Christ, I bind you, O Ye trembling horde'². Now, we, in the East, have this form of belief in the power of a magician to do harm to a person through his nails and hair. I will leave it to some one of our Hindu members to place before us, at some time, the Hindu views

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-48. ² *Ibid.* Introduction pp. XLVI-XLVII.

of the influence of magic exercised through hair. But I will present this view as prevalent in Persia, the country of "Rabban Hormizd the Persian", referred to above. With the advent of the Parsees here, it came here and continued to prevail here among the Parsees.

Times are now changing, but, in the early or middle part of the last century, orthodox Parsis, especially the priests, always did their best to throw their cut hair into a corner where it could not ordinarily be seen by others. As to the nails, they took special care to bury them, so that there may be no chance of their falling into the hands of others. Of course, some religious ideas were, and are, attached to this custom. Hair and nails are considered as *nafo*, or impure things, and so, they must be removed from sight and contact; but an additional primitive idea at the bottom may be that of avoiding the hair and the nails¹ falling into the hands of an evil-minded person, who can do harm, through these things, to the man to whom they belonged. I will not speak here further on the subject, but refer my readers to my paper entitled "Two Iranian Incantations for burying Hair and Nails", read before the Society on 29th September 1909.² I will say here a few words on some new points suggested in this connection.

In the passage, quoted above from the Semitic Magic of Mr. Thompson, the author speaks of drugs and physicians and connects them with magic. Physicians are said to be calling incantations and charms to the aid of their drugs.

(a) The Avesta speaks of five kinds of physicians (*baēshaza*) one of whom is *mānthro-baēshaza*, i.e., one

¹ *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis", p. 170.

² *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. VIII, No. 8, pp. 557-72. *Vide* my *Anthropological Papers*, Part I, pp. 340-354.

who cures by *māntra* (Sans. मंत्र), i.e., religious incantations.¹ Some of the Nirangs or incantations of the Iranians are associated with Thraêtaona Âthwiya (त्रीत आयव्य) the Faridun of the Shah-nâmeh who, among his other qualifications, had that of being a clever physician.²

(b) Again, we find from the above story of Revd. W. F. Robinson that the clippings are sought to be protected from the picking of birds. In the Iranian incantation of protecting (*parhikhtan*) the nails also, we find that it is recited in relation to birds (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀 Persian مرغ), especially a bird called *asho-zushta* (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀).³

(c) The incantations for the protection of hair against the influence of the magic of evil-minded men are based upon what is said in the 17th Chapter of the Vendidad, which describes how the hair and nail may be disposed of. It is said there, that, if the hair and nail are not properly buried, they lead, as it were, to an invitation to violent plague.⁴ A disregard for their proper disposal leads to the growth and spread of *khrafstras* or noxious creatures of the type of the *spish* (𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀), i.e. lice.

According to the above belief in Oxford, a disregard for the proper disposal of the hair brought on headache. According to the Iranian belief it led to the growth of

1 Ardibehest Yasht, Sect. 6.

2 For the nirangs or amulets so associated with Faridun who was a physician, *vide* my paper "Amulets for some diseases of the Eye" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 338-45; *vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 43-50).

3 *Vide* my paper "Two Iranian Incantations for burying the hair and nails" (Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VIII, No. 8, pp. 557-72. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 340-354). The word *asho-zushta* means "a friend of purity".

4 Vendidad XVII.

fleas in the hair, which leads to the spread of some plague.¹

In the East, and I think in the West also, in ancient times, the practice for the priestly class was to keep beards. It is still generally so in the East. Parsee Dasturs and Mobads always keep beards. They never shave. When the hairs of the head grow long, they themselves cut them after a long period. I think that this practice of the priesthood—especially the Parsee Mobads—to keep beard and long hair was the result of the above injunction of the Vendidad, that hair must be carefully disposed of and buried with special formality and ritual. This injunction led them to bear beards, so that there may be lesser occasions for burying them with some formality and ritual. In the case of some of the *Sādhus* or wandering monks—whom I saw in thousands at the last twelve years' *jātra* (pilgrimage) of the Godaverī at Nasik—I have seen some with hairs as long as about 10 ft.²

We read in the *Folk-lore*: "The custom of covering
 2. The custom of covering up looking glasses in the room of a dead person. over the looking glasses in the room where the deceased is lying is quite common and finds favour even amongst some of the well-to-do." I have observed that custom in the houses of several well-to-do Parsees. They covered the mirrors of the rooms where the dead bodies were placed.

1 Compare this ancient belief, that a disregard for the proper disposal of the hair leads to the growth of lice which spread a plague, with the present view that it is fleas on rats which spread plague. *Vide* my paper, "The Rat Problem and the Ancients" (*Jour. of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 66-77. *Vide* my *Anthropological Papers*, Part I, pp. 355-65).

2 *Vide* my paper on "A Visit to Nasik on the Opening Days of the Present Sindhast Pilgrimage." (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XII, No. 5, pp. 498-527. *Vide* my *Anthropological Papers*, Part III, p. 178.)

We read the following in the *Folk-lore* of 1920¹ about the cock among the Upper Egyptians and others:—"When Adam was created he did not know what the time was and therefore when he ought to say his prayers. Accordingly, he asked God to let him know the time. So God made the cock, in order that it might crow (*yiddan*; from the same verb comes *mueddin* (*muezzin*) 'the summoner to prayer', and *mâdna*, 'minaret', from whence the call to prayer is made)". Among the Iranians also, the cock is associated with the duty of early rising and saying prayers. A cock is specially spoken of as *pouru-darsh*, i.e., one who sees (the coming of the sun) beforehand.²

Folk-lore of the West associates various beliefs with the New Moon. Many people hold the New Moon day as a day of good auspices.

The Cairenes and Upper Egyptians, on looking to the moon on the New Moon day, say:—*Hill hilalak, Shahr mubarak* ! etc. i.e., "Loosen thy crescent, blessed month ! Thy blessing be on us ! thine evil under our feet !"

The fact of the sight of the moon on New Moon day being held as auspicious can be observed by anybody in Bombay at the close of the new moon day, when here and there hundreds and thousands of eyes are turned to the Western horizon to have a glimpse of the New Moon.³

1 *Folk-lore* of March 1920, Vol. XXXI, p. 198.

2 *Vide* my paper, "The Cock as a sacred bird in Ancient Iran" (*Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. V, No. 6, pp. 346-62. *Vide* my *Anthropological Papers*, Part I, pp. 104-121.)

3 *Vide* my paper on "The Ancient Iranian Belief and Folklore about the Moon. Some Cognate Beliefs among other Nations", (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 14-39. *Vide* my *Anthropological Papers*, Part II, pp. 202-226).

We read:—"Among the Copts of the Delta, if a child were ill, the mother, however rich, would

5. Begging as a means of doing good to a child.

put on a beggar's dress and go out begging, the money so received being devoted to the cure of the child."¹

I remember a Mahomedan coming before me about 45 years ago and importunately asking from me a sum of money as would buy a good suit of dress for his child, saying, that that would do good to his child. I remember my mother preventing me from paying anything for the purpose from fear, lest, in turn, some harm may occur to my child.

We read the following about a custom of throwing

6. Throwing of some rubbish against a neighbour's door.

a handful of stones against a neighbour's door on the night before Shrove Tuesday ²:—

"A very curious old custom, of the nature of a practical joke, is observed in the Hill district. On the night before Shrove Tuesday (last night but one of the Carnival), if the back door or any outer door of the Parsonage or a farm-house be left unfastened, it is quietly opened, and before anyone can stir to prevent it, a whole sackful of broken bits of crockery is shot in the middle of the kitchen, or wherever the bearer can penetrate before he is observed. He then decamps and disappears in the darkness, generally unrecognised."

This belief reminds us of a Hindu belief in India, when people stealthily throw stones on a neighbour's house on one of the holy holidays known as *Dhagrad chowath* (धगद चौथ), i.e., the fourth day (for throwing) stone (चौथ).

1. *Folk-lore* of March 1920, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, p. 261.

2. *Vide Folk-lore* of March 1920, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, p. 289.

We read: "In Nubia and until recently also in Upper Egypt, after a marriage, the bride and bridegroom go to the Nile, fill their mouths with water and squirt it in one another's faces. The one who is hit first will be the most fortunate in life."¹

In India, on the occasion of a Parsee marriage, a few grains of rice are given in the left hands of the couple—the right hands being clasped by one another. At the close of the ceremony of tying marriage knots, a Parsee places incense on fire, produced there in a vase at the time. The emission of smoke is a signal for both to throw upon one another their grains of rice. He or she, who throws first, is acclaimed as winner, signifying that he or she will be foremost in his or her love towards the other party.

In an article headed "Some Kerry Notes"² which were "Notes made in Derrynane, well off the beaten track in Kerry", by Mr. W. S. Weeks, we read that when a cat was missing for three days, taking it that it had gone away for good, it was said:—"Ah, well! the harm of the year go with him". This expression shows that harm or ill-luck was associated with it. In India, ill-luck and misfortune are associated with a cat crossing one's way when he or she leaves his or her house for business. The person stops for a moment or two, or turns his back and then proceeds to his work. This is believed to counteract the influence of the ill-luck. It signifies that he commenced his work quite afresh.

1. *Vide Folk-lore of March 1920, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, p. 200.*

2. *Vide Folk-lore of March 1920, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, p. 226.*

SYMBOLS—THE SWASTIKA (स्वस्तिका) AS A SYMBOL IN INDIA AND ELSEWHERE. WAS THERE ANYTHING LIKE IT IN IRAN? ¹

I

The subject of this paper is suggested to me by an interesting book, entitled "The Migration of Symbols" by Mr. D. A.

Introduction.
Mackenzie.² The author treats of four classes of symbols in his work:—(1) The Svastika, (2) The Spiral, (3) Ear Symbols, and (4) Tree Symbols. Of these four, I want to speak to-day on the first, the Svastika.

Symbols play a very important part in the life of all nations. Even among civilized nations, they have an important religious or semi-religious signification. Thomas Carlyle thus speaks of them:—"It is in and through symbols, that man consciously or unconsciously lives, works, and has his being: those ages, moreover, are accounted the noblest which can the best recognize symbolical worth and prize it highest." "In a symbol, there is a concealment, and yet

The part played
by Symbols.

¹ This paper was read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 18th June, 1930. Journal Vol. XIV, No. 5, pp. 692-695.

² The Migration of Symbols and their Relations to Beliefs and Customs, by Donald A. Mackenzie. (1926).

wisdom; hence, therefore, by silence and by speech acting together comes a double signification." "In a symbol proper.....there is some embodiment and revelation of the Infinite; the Infinite is made to blend itself with the Finite to stand visible and, as it were, attainable there".¹

As a writer² on Symbolism says:—"The minds of all men, especially of the uneducated, yearn for those sensible images which serve in some measure to shadow forth the Divine." "The sensible things of Him are clearly seen, being perceived through things that are made." So, all spiritual facts are represented by natural symbols. For example, among animals, the peacock is held to be an emblem of immortality, the fish of activity; among trees, the palm an emblem of victory,—physical victory, and moral victory. The Pahlavi Bundelesh has, as it were, "A Language of Flowers" in one of its chapters.³ Among inanimate things, an anchor is an emblem of hope. Even certain holidays may be taken as emblems of various virtues. For example, the Christmas holiday stands as a symbol of charity. Take some of the Parsee holidays. The Âdargan feast-day symbolizes the spread of Light, physical and moral. The Âbangan symbolizes thanksgiving to Ahura Mazda for the gift of water and man's duty to supply enough of pure water to those in want of it. The Farvardian and Farvardegan holidays symbolize respect for, and homage to, the pious dead. The Spendarmad feast-

1. As quoted by A. Symonds, in his "Symbolical Movement", Introduction.

2. Barrow's Essays on Symbolism.

3. Chapter XXVII. Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", pp. 396-99.

day symbolizes one's duty to keep ground clean, healthy and fertile, to make two blades of grass grow where only one grew at first. Both, the Cross of the Christians as well as the Crescent of the Moslems, unfold to a Christian or a Mahomedan, "the full meaning of his religion, its prowess, its sacrifices; it is the connecting link between him and that Infinite beyond, in which he believes¹". To a soldier, a flag is a "symbol of all that he is prepared to give his life for". It presents a vista of the majesty of the Empire, of noble deeds, patriotism of country, home and honour itself. As said by a writer, "Cold reason never spurred man to acts of gallantry, deeds of faith and heroism. Symbolism was the key which touched the hidden spring of imagination."¹

As said by the same above writer,² the discovery of words also is a kind of use of symbols. Pure reason and pursuit of knowledge are, of course, good in themselves, but from times immemorial, imagination has been working and bringing into use symbols. A word is a kind of symbol. It is, as it were, "the picture of some fact or thought". For "special occasions", you want the use of "special language". That is a kind of "invention of symbols". "Art and Music themselves are symbols of the great spaces, illimitable tracts of beauty that would otherwise be unexpressed". According to the mystics, Nature itself is only the symbol of something dimly discernible through it in enchanted moments.

The pith of all that we have said is that religious symbols like the Svastika are "aids to worship".

1 The *Academy* of 19th December 1914, page 28.

2 *Ibid.*

II

There are, as said by Mr. Mackenzie,¹ two rival schools of Anthropology: (1) The Diffusionists and (2) the Evolutionists.

(1) According to the Diffusionists, certain ideas begin in a progressive community or nation, and, then, they are diffused among other less progressive communities or nations. For example, they take Egypt to be one of the very first progressive countries, from where a number of ideas have spread, not only into neighbouring countries, but also into distant countries.

(2) The Evolutionists deny such a diffusion and speak of an "Essential psychic unity of all mankind", and, hence, they say "similar groups of complexes" in thoughts have their "independent origin", their spontaneous generation throughout the world.² The first of the above two schools is also known as the Ethnological School. It believes in the transmission of culture of all sorts from one class of people to another. The second of the above two schools, the Evolutionary School, is spoken of also as the Psychological School.

Mr. Mackenzie holds the view of the Diffusionists. I think that one cannot dogmatically say that the views of one school or another are universally true. Some cases of symbols, as well as other beliefs and customs, may justify the view of the Diffusionists and some of the Evolutionists and some of both. For example, take the case of the stories of the visions of the other worlds. We have accounts of

1 The Migration of Symbols and their Relations to Beliefs and Customs, by Donald A. Mackenzie (1926), pp. 48-49.

2 *Ibid.* Foreword, page XVI.

the visions of Heaven and Hell by Ardaï Viraf of Iran, St. Adamnain of Ireland, Dante of Italy,¹ St. Fursey of Scotland² and other similar visionaries.³ These visions seem to illustrate the theories of both the above two classes, though some of them, for example, the visions of the Iranian, Irish and Italian visionaries, especially illustrate the theory of the Diffusionists.

As to the Svastika, which is, as it were, a world-wide symbol, I think, it illustrates the theory of the Evolutionists. The whole world daily comes into contact with the sun, and, as the Svastika symbol is associated with the movement of the sun, it is quite possible, that everywhere the thoughts of associating that movement with some articles or designs as symbols may have arisen and may have evolved step by step. In the matter of special designs in particular countries, there may have been diffusion.

1 For an account of all these three and of their similarities, *vide* my "Dante Papers".

2 For a brief account of this visionary, based on Bede (Vol. 1, 104), *vide* the article, on "National Churches and National Life" by Mr. W. Boyd Carpenter in the *Quarterly Review* of April 1918, Vol. 229, pp. 348 ff. Fursey "fell into a trance during which his soul is supposed to have quitted his body from evening till cock crow". He was attended by an angel like the other visionaries and met angels and demons. Mr. Carpenter says of all such visions:—"The germ of true spiritual conceptions may be found amid the grotesque picturing of these visions. The spirit of man, even in its most foolish imaginings, reveals something of its nobler nature. Like the folk-lore legends of all nations these dreams show how the soul of man gropes after truth. However childish such dreams may seem, they are never insignificant when they are sincere" (*Ibid.* page 350). Mr. Carpenter's view seems to place these visions in the class of the School of Evolutionists.

3 *Vide* Artâ Virâf-Nameh, ou Livre d'Artâ Virâf par M. A. Barthélemy (1887). Introduction.

III

WHAT IS A SVASTIKA ?

The word Svastika is Sanskrit in its origin. The word comes from Sans. *Su* (सु), Avesta.

The meaning of the Word. "hu" (हु), Pahl. "hu" (𐭥), Ger. *Eu*, good, and "asti" (अस्ति) being. It means

literally: "It is well. May it be well". Thus, a Svastika is "a kind of mystical mark on persons or things denoting good luck".¹ "The meeting of four roads" and "the crossing of the arms making a sign like the cross"² have also come to be signified by the same word. It is a symbol with which we, in India, are very familiar. We see it occasionally in the *Chok*³ decoration on the threshold of many Indian houses. We know that Indian merchants begin their account-books every year, with this symbol in the beginning. Hindu Mehtas (account-clerks) draw this symbol on the *Vahi-pooja* day on all new account-books. Mr. Mackenzie says:—"No symbol has of recent years aroused more interest among students of antiquities in both hemispheres than that which by general consent is referred to by its ancient Sanskrit name of swastika..... The word is in both its ancient and modern sense roughly the equivalent of 'good luck' in a religious or magico-religious connexion.....To our ancestors..... luck stood for nearly everything mankind desired in this world and the next—health, wealth, prosperity, protection, love, friendship, pleasure, happiness, long life, success in

1 Apte's Sanskrit Dictionary (1899), p. 1161, col. 3.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Vide* my paper "The Wedding Sand in Knutsford (Cheshire, England) and the Wedding Sand (Chok 𑂔𑂱𑂔) in India". (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay of 1912, Vol. IX, No. 7, pp. 471-480. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers", Part II, pp. 31-39.)

all undertakings¹ etc." This idea is associated with that of the pra-dakshina (going round) of the Hindus, wherein the worshipper goes round a particular sacred idol, symbol or article, keeping the article itself on its right. It is another form of the Christian cross which symbolizes the four sides of the earth.

The auspicious mark on the forehead of an Indian, known as *tilā* (𑀭𑀸𑀓), is associated with the view about the Svastika. The *tilā*, made by an Indian priest, a Hindu Brahman or a Parsee Mobad on the child that is being initiated into the fold, marks the person initiated as one of the elect. In the painted glass of a Church an angel is painted as stamping "a mark on the forehead of the elect".² This is similar to our making a *tilā* here. The mark is the sign of the letter T which was originally a cross. An Indian *tilā* is, as it were, one branch of the cross.

The signification of the Svastika as a symbol is associated with ancient Sun-worship and Fire-worship. A recent writer,³ speaking of some insanitary houses of the present day in England, speaks figuratively of introducing Fire-worship in these houses, so that with the coming of more sun-light, their conditions may be improved. So, Sun and Fire were sources of health, wealth and prosperity, and the Svastika came into use, as a symbol, representing their worship. The Svastika is "a protective symbol as is the simple upright cross which may owe part of its auspicious

1 The Migration of Symbols and their Relations to Beliefs and Customs, by Donald A. Mackenzie (1926), p. 1.

2 Barton's Essays on Symbolism.

3 Journal of the Society of Arts of 1920.

character to its representing the two sticks used to procure fire.¹ What is meant is this: In olden times, two sticks produced fire by friction. Now, fire is a symbol of fertility, cheerfulness, happiness. So, the cross, which shows us, as it were, two sticks crossing each other to produce fire by friction, is also a symbol of fertility, happiness. Svastika, which is a little variation of the cross, signifies the same thing.

The Svastika is, as it were, a world-wide symbol² of olden times. It is found in various parts of Asia, Europe and America.³ One of its early forms is seen on the lowest remains of Troy (about 2500 B.C.). One next oldest form is, they say, at a place named Hebers Ehyll in England. We read:—"On a massive rock is carved, a svastika, a symbol supposed to mean 'fire' and used as a sign of good luck. These carvings are extremely rare. There is one in Tossene in Sweden and another at Mycene in Greece. They are also found on arms and objects of the stone age *circa* 800 years B.C. to which the example in the opinion of the best authorities belongs."⁴

Mr. Mackenzie says: "The Svastika.....appears.....to have been introduced some time after the discovery of agriculture and the fixing of the cardinal points. Its developments from the equal-limbed cross of the early mariners.....apparently took place when it was observed that the revolving 'Great Bear' Constellation indicates the seasons, pointing, with its 'tail' eastward in

1 *Athaeneum* of 12th March 1910, page 310.

2 *Vide* the *Indian Antiquary* of March 1880, Vol. IX: (*Vide* also the *Asiatic Quarterly* of 1893 or 1894.

3 Mr. Mackenzie gives a Plate, exhibiting its various forms in different parts of the world *Vide* his book *op. cit.* page 2).

4 *Manchester City News* of 24th June 1916.

spring, southward in summer, westward in autumn and northward in winter."¹

According to Mr. Mackenzie, it has been held as a symbol, signifying various ideas, such as the following:—

- (1) A symbol of phallic worship; (2) of the female principle; (3) of conception and birth; (4) of an ancient trade mark; (5) of ornament; (6) of fire; (7) of lightning; (8) of thunderbolt; (9) of water; (10) of astronomical symbol; (11) of the four castes of India; (12) of religious or military standard or flag; (13) of a flying bird; (14) a representation of the argonaut or octopus; (15) a cross, etc., etc.²

The Evolutionists say that "it appeared spontaneously in different parts of the world".³

Various views about the place of its origin. According to the Diffusionists, it spread from one country to another. If so, where was its origin? It is said to be

"of considerable antiquity in Elam (South-Western Persia), in Asia Minor and in the Aegean and Danubian 'Culture areas' of the archaeologists".⁴ It also appeared early in India, China, Japan and parts of America. It is not discovered among the antiquities of Sumeria, Babylonia, Assyria. So, when it appeared in Persia, one may take it that it arose there as an indigenous belief. It is found among the ancient Hittites.

Mr. Mackenzie says that "although essentially a pagan symbol, the svastika was adopted, with other pre-Christian symbols, by the early Christians and freely used by them in the catacombs at Rome. Forms of it are associated with Christian symbols in Irish manuscripts and on the

1. The Migration of Symbols, *op. cit.* Foreword, page XIII.

2. *Ibid.* p. 2.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

sculptured stones of Scotland, but both in Ireland and Scotland, it was known in pre-Christian times, and had evidently as elsewhere, a religious or magico-religious significance. Its use in Europe has long since died out, except where it is favoured for business purposes or in art, but in Ireland and the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, a form of it is still being woven in straw at harvest times, or in rushes in spring, and associated with St. Bride, a famous lady, who was the first nun in Ireland, but whose memory has been confused with that of the old pagan goddess Bride or Bright, the mother goddess of the ancient Celtic tribe of the Brigantes."¹

IV

SVASTIKA IN IRAN.

Mr. Mackenzie refers in passing to the question whether it existed as a symbol in ancient Iran.² I think that it existed in the Zoroastrian ritual of Iran. Mr. Mackenzie, though he associates it with Fire, does not clearly mention its signification as a symbol of Sun-worship. I think it is a symbol of original sun-worship, with which fire-worship is associated. I have seen the Svastika on a *toran*³ hanging over the fire-chamber of a Parsee Fire-temple.⁴ The *Toran* has on it, besides the

1 *Ibid.* p. 5.

2 *Ibid.* p. 8.

3 For the *Toran*, *vide* my paper "A Few Notes on a Flying Visit to Japan, Part IV. The Torii of Japan and the Torans of India" (*Vide* Journal, Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XII, No. 6, pp. 699-729; *vide* my "Anthropological Papers," Part III, pp. 249-276).

4 The Seth Jejeebhoy Dadabhoy Parsee Fire-temple at Colaba. The *Toran* was a gift of devotion to it by a Parsee lady, Bai Gulbai Bomanji Dinshaw Petit. It hangs on the southern window of the Fire chamber.

Svastika, the figures of the sun, moon and a fire-vase, all associated with Light. Mr. Mackenzie says, as said above, that it "is of considerable antiquity in Elam" (South-Western Persia). He, referring to a "Lapland Svastika", takes it to be a thunderbolt and says "it is manifestly in the first place a symbol of the four cardinal points". This reminds me of the ritual of Afringan among the Parsees, where, according to my view, the officiating priest draws a Svastika by the movement of a ladle. I will quote here what I have said elsewhere¹ on this point:—"While reciting the *Yatha*, the Zoti moves the ladle in the tray before him pointing out the four sides or directions. While reciting the *Ashem*, he points to the four corners (North-west, North-east, South-east and South-west). In short, he points, as it were, to the different directions of the movements of the sun. In pointing out the first four directions, he draws, as it were, a cross. We know, that anthropologists say, that the cross existed before Christ, that it symbolized, to some extent, the ancient sun-worship and pointed out the different directions in connection with the sun. In that respect, it resembled, to a certain extent, the *savastika* of the Hindus which similarly symbolized the movement of the sun. Thus, the pointing of the different sides and corners with the ladle was something like describing (or drawing) a *savastika*."

Mr. Mackenzie thus refers to the theory of Iran being the homeland of the Svastika and to Dr. Schliemann's view on the subject²:—"A theory, which found favour for a time, was that Svastika had origin in the 'Iranian homeland' of our 'Aryan fore-fathers'. Dr. Schliemann³ drew

1 *Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees,"* p. 401.

2 *Ibid.* p. 7.

3 "Troy and its Remains," translation, edited by Smith (1875), pp. 101 *et seq.* Plate IV, figure 29.

attention to the interesting fact that the equal-limbed cross with central circle, common to Troy and India, was also a Svastika to the Sanskrit speaking Aryo-Indians and he expressed his conviction that both the cross and the Svastika were 'religious symbols of the very greatest importance among the early progenitors of the Aryan races in Bactria and in the villages of the Oxus, at a time when the Germans, Indians, Pelangians, Celts, Persians, Slavonians, and Iranians still formed one nation and spoke one language.'

Mr. Mackenzie quotes Count Goblet d'Alviella who says that the Svastika was not known among the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Assyrians and the Phœnicians and adds¹:—"Neither the Chaldeans, the Assyrians, the Phœnicians nor even the Egyptians could have imported the *gammadion* (Svastika) to Hindustan. There only remains, then, the Persians.....But in Persia itself the *gammadion* only appears as an exception. Perhaps one would do well to look towards the Caucasus."²

Again, take the case of the ritual known as *bui* of the Sacred Fire of the Fire-temple of the first grade, known as Atash Behram, where the officiating priest performs what is called "moving in a *chak* (Persian *chak*, i.e., "one side of four", "an eighth part of a thing"). The priest while feeding the Sacred Fire, moves, one after another, to the four sides and the four corners. Here, he describes the *Svastika*.³ But I think that, though we do not find the

¹ *Ibid*, page 8.

² "The Migration of Symbols" by Count Goblet d'Alviella, translated by Sir George Birdwood, pp. 73 *et seq.*

³ For a plan of the movement, vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," page 236.

material Svastika (i.e., Svastika designed on articles or buildings), we find, as pointed out by me above, Svastika described or drawn in an important ritual.

Again, in this connection, I would draw special attention of the students of this subject, to the fact that the Parsees have a special prayer, beginning with the words "Nemô aongham" and known as "Char disani nemâz" (ચાર દિશાની નેમઝ), which is recited four times and in the recital of which each time, the worshipper turns to the four directions, beginning with the East and in the order of East, South, West and North. In this prayer, the worshipper pays his *nemô* (*nemâz*, homage) to God's creations in the four cardinal directions. This also is something like describing or drawing a Svastika.

Again take into consideration in this connection the fact, that a Parsee, when he unties and reties his *kusti*¹ or sacred thread several times during the day, turns to three directions, to the East in the morning hours from dawn to mid-day, to the South from noon to three in the afternoon, and to the West in the afternoon and evening from three to night-fall, and to a lamp during the night. All these turnings and directions point to the idea of a Svastika, arising from thoughts associated with original Sun-worship.

Count Goblet d'Alviella accounts for the supposed absence of Svastika as a design on any article in Iran and says that the winged disk round a circle (the symbol of Farohar) may be its substitute. "If amongst the Aryans of Persia it (i.e., the *gammadion* or Svastika) never played but a secondary and obliterated part, might it not be

1 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", pp. 183-84.

because the art and symbolism of the different nations possess other figures which discharge a similar function whether as a phylactery, or else as an astronomical, or a divine symbol? The real talismanic cross of the countries stretching from Persia to Lybia is the *crux ansata*, the Key of Life of the Egyptian monuments. As for their powerful symbol of the sun in motion is it not the Winged Circle?.....There would seem to be between these figures and the *gammadion*, I will not say a natural antipathy, but a repetition of the same idea."¹

Anthropologists differ in view about the origin of the symbols, if not of all symbols, of most of them. Some think that they are meaningless in their origin and that they were, at first, intended as decorations. Early man, even in his savage state, had an "instinct to decorate" his place, whether a cave or some other rude structure. So, symbols had "art motifs". Others think that all symbols are, in one way or another, associated with religion, whether in its crude form or advanced form, and that, being so associated, they had "luck motifs". My view is, that these symbols have, in the end, luck motifs and a Svastika also has a "luck motif". It signifies that it brings good luck to the places where it is exhibited and to those with whom it is associated.

¹ "The Migration of Symbols, by Count Goblet d'Alviella, translated by Sir George Birdwood, p. 11.

SYMBOLISM IN THE MARRIAGE CEREMONIES OF DIFFERENT NATIONS.¹

ZARATHUSHTRA:—"O Creator of the physical world! Which is the second place on the earth that feels happy?"

AHURA MAZDA:—"That (place is happy) over which a holy man builds a house with fire, cattle, wife, children and good followers."

(*Vendidad, III, 2.*)

"The symbolism of to-day preserves the serious belief of yesterday, and what, in an age, more or less distant, was a vital motive; inspiring an appropriate course of conduct, survives in the conduct it has inspired long after it has itself ceased to be active and powerful."

Milton thus sings of Marriage in an episode of, what Marriage as an Mr. W. Tegg² calls, "grave and majestic institution. beauty":

"Hail, wedded love, mysterious law, true source
Of human offspring, sole propriety
In Paradise of all things common else!
By thee adultrious lust was driven from men
Among the bestial herds to range; by thee,
Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure,
Relations dear, and all the charities
Of father, son, and brother, first were known."

Marriage being thus "the chief concern of human life," and being "the hinge of all kindred, or the strongest link in the chain that binds mankind together,"³ there is no wonder, if "in all ages and in all countries a halo of interest attaches to the marriage ceremony."⁴

1 A part of this paper formed the subject of a lecture, delivered before the Ladies' Branch of the National Indian Association, at Bett Minar, on Thursday, the 21st of January 1900. It was then developed and published in the *East and West* of August and September 1900.

2 "The Knot Tied," by William Tegg, p. 5. 3 *Ibid.* p. 4.

4 "Marriage Customs," by E. Howlett: *The Westminster Review* of 1893, Vol. CXL, p. 602.

The marriage ritual of the English church is spoken of as a "curious cabinet of antiquities," but, as Rev. Thurston has said, the rituals of other churches also present curious cabinets of antiquities.¹

The symbolism observed in the marriage ceremonies of some of the different nations of the world forms the subject of my paper. The subject is very vast and extensive, but I will chiefly dwell on the symbolism in the marriage rites, ceremonies and customs of other nations, which are similar to those observed by the Parsees. Some of the Parsee rites and ceremonies, referred to in this paper, are not observed now by the Parsees of Bombay, but they were prevalent here till about 30 or 40 years ago, and they are still prevalent, to some extent, in some of the Gujarat centres of the Parsees. While speaking of these, I will draw largely from my paper on the Marriage Customs of the Parsees.²

(a) As one of the ritual books (Li Ki) of the Chinese says: "that which is most important in ceremonies is to understand the idea intended in them."³ It is the comprehension of the symbolism in the marriage ceremonies that leads us to understand the idea intended in them. Symbolism plays an important part in framing the early history of society.

(b) As M'Lennan says "the chief sources of information regarding the early history of civil society are, first, the study of races in their primitive condition; and, second,

1 "The Marriage Ritual of Toledo," by Rev. Herbert Thurston, S.J. *The Nineteenth Century and After*, of July 1906, Vol. LX, p. 114.

2 "The Marriage Customs of the Parsees. Their comparison with similar customs of other nations," a paper read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay in 1899 (*Vide Journal of the Society*, Vol. V, pp. 343-83).

3 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXVII. The Li Ki (Book IX, Sec. III), by James Legge, p. 439.

the study of the symbols employed by advanced nations in the constitution or exercise of civil rights."¹ (c) As Bishop Weldon, the late Metropolitan of Calcutta, said in one of his Masonic speeches, "A symbol is an external means of impressing truth. The teaching conveyed through the eye is more forcible than that conveyed through the ear." (d) According to Coleridge: "A symbol is a sign included in the idea which it represents; an actual part taken to represent the whole, or a lower form or species used as the representative of a higher of the same kind."

(e) Carlyle says: "It is in and through symbols that man, consciously or unconsciously lives, works, and has his being: those ages moreover are accounted the noblest which can the best recognize symbolical worth and prize it highest."

"In a symbol there is concealment and yet revelation: hence, therefore, by silence and by speech acting together comes a double significance." (f) Mr. Sidney Hartand, while speaking of the symbolism of a particular marriage custom of Bengal, says: "The symbolism of to-day preserves the serious belief of yesterday, and what, in an age, more or less distant, was a vital motive inspiring an appropriate course of conduct, survives in the conduct it has inspired long after it has itself ceased to be active and powerful."²

There are three things which generally serve as a proof of marriage, or which certify the celebration of a marriage, and symbolism is observed in all these three:—

Division ^{of} the
Subject.

A.—Mutual Payments.

B.—Witnesses.

C.—Ceremonies.

1 "Primitive Marriage: An Inquiry into the origin of the form of capture in Marriage Ceremonies," by John F. M'Lennan (1865), p. 5.

2 "A marriage custom of the Aborigines of Bengal: A study in the Symbolism of Marriage Ceremonies," in the *Asiatic Quarterly* of January 1893, p. 311.

We will speak of marriage symbolism under these three heads.

(A) Mutual Presents.

Under the head of mutual presents fall:—

- (a) Money-payments.
- (b) Rings.
- (c) Dress.
- (d) Articles of food.

We will at first speak of the symbolism observed in these various forms of mutual bridal presents.

In many nations, marriage is preceded by a kind of mutual money payment by the marrying couple. The payment begins from the bridegroom or from some members of his family on betrothal. Among the Romans and the ancient Christians, this payment was known as *arrhæ* or earnest-money. Among the ancient Jews, the payment of a silver-coin was an essential thing in the betrothal. This money-payment is now taken as a symbolic expression of goodwill, affection and earnestness, on the part of both the parties, in the celebration of the marriage contract. But, according to some, it is the remnant of an old custom of very early primitive times when maidens were purchased. Money payment in those times was symbolic of purchase-money. Just as you pay a certain sum now, when you enter into a contract for the purchase of some property, the money paid on betrothal was the earnest-money paid for the purchase of the bride. Latterly, this money-payment was taken, not as the earnest money for the purchase of the bride, but as a pledge to assure the bride, that she was henceforward to share her husband's property of which his cash money formed a part.

The money-payment varied among different nations, and, even among the same nations, at different times. But

it seems that, the elders of the people generally fixed, at least, the maximum or the minimum for the payment to the bride. For example, in the Parsee ritual, the officiating priest speaks of "2,000 *dirhams* of white pure silver and 2 *dinârs* of red gold". Compare with these, the words of the priest in the Christian ritual, according to the rubrics of the Manual of 1554. "Then let him (the priest) count the *arrhae* which ought to be thirteen pieces (*denarios*); and when they have been laid upon a plate, together with two rings, let him perform the blessing of the *arrhae* and the rings"¹. Both, the Parsee and the Christian rituals, seem to fix the money-payment, and the silver coin referred to, is the same, the *dinâr*."

The fact, that this money-payment was a token of union, appears from the words used in an ancient Christian ritual: "I give you these *arrhae* (money coins) in token of our marriage (*en senal de matrimonio*)"². It served as "a religious symbol of fidelity."³

The gift of rings is another form of money-payment.

(b) Rings. So, it is taken by some to be a remnant of the old custom of purchase-money.

Before the invention and use of money, people's property consisted of gold, silver, and such other metals. They invested their earnings in rich metals. In olden times, when property was not safe, people invested their earning in ornaments, which, for safety's sake, they carried on their bodies, so that they may not be stolen. Hence began the custom of putting on of ornaments. Thus, the gifts of rings, bracelets, chains, etc., were something like money-payments.

Some anthropologists trace the custom to times earlier than these when brides were purchased. In those earlier

1 "The Marriage Ritual of Toledo," by Rev. Thurston, the *Nineteenth Century* of July 1906, p. 122. 2 *Ibid.* p. 122.

3 *Ibid.* p. 113.

times, maidens were captured for marriage. Marriage than was wife-catching. So, the ring then was a symbol of the wife's captivity. Golden chains, bracelets, etc., were the remnants of those old times when the husband put these on the bride as symbols of his capture.

(1) Thus the first stage in the signification of the symbolism of a bridal ring is that of wife-capturing.

(2) The second is that of purchase.

(3) The third stage is that of handing over charge or authority. It brings us to times of more refined ideas. It was the time when signet-rings came into use. Signet rings, i.e., rings bearing seals on them, presented to brides on betrothal and marriage, signified the same thing as the presentation of a bunch of keys. It signified that the bride was, from that time forward, to have the charge of the goods of the household of her bridegroom. The Parsee word now used for a wife is *ṛiṣṭāṭ*, i.e., seal or signet keeper. This word signifies the above idea. It is with this idea, that St. Clement says, "He gives a gold ring, not for ornament, but that she may with it seal up what has to be kept safe, as the care of keeping the house belongs to her."¹

(4) Lastly, as man's feelings became more refined the bridal ring began to have a spiritual significance and stood as a symbol of *endless indissoluble union*. It typified fidelity, safely-guarded modesty, union, and protection. It was with this idea of spiritual significance that latterly bridal rings came to be blessed by priests officiating at marriages. The ancient Romans and Greeks used the bridal ring on betrothals only. The circular form of the ring has its own signification. A circle has, as it were, no end. "So the ring signifies endless indissoluble union."

¹ Smith and Cheetham's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.
Vide the word Marriage.

At one time, among the Anglo-Saxons, the bridal ring was placed by the bridegroom on the middle finger of the bride's left hand.¹

The finger for the bridal ring.
But now it is generally put on the fourth finger. The explanation given for the custom is as follows:—"The ring is given by the espouser to the espoused, either for a sign of mutual fidelity or still more to join their hearts by this pledge; and therefore the ring is placed on the fourth finger because a certain vein, it is said, flows 'thence to the heart'."²

Among the early Anglo-Saxons, the bridegroom placed, on betrothal, a ring or a *wed* or pledge on the maiden's right hand. On marriage, the bride transferred it to the left hand. During the reigns of George I and George II, the wedding ring was often put on the thumb. In the Christian marriage service, the ring is put on the book. This custom, is the relic of an old custom when the priest blessed it by sprinkling holy water over it in the form of a cross. This is still the practice in the Roman church.

In Middle Ages, the bridegroom placed the ring first on the thumb of the bride, then on her first finger, then on the second, reciting each time the name of the three persons of the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Lastly, with the word Amen, it was put on her third finger.³ The bridal ring was put on the left hand of the bride, to distinguish it from the ring put on the right hand by the virgins espoused to the church.

1 "Marriage Customs," by E. Howlett. *Westminster Review* of 1893, Vol. CXL, p. 603.

2 Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities (word Ring) (1889), p. 1808.

3 "The Marriage Ritual of Toledo," by Rev. Thurston in *The Nineteenth Century* of July 1906, p. 121.

The Doges of ancient Venice threw, on the Ascension day each year, a ring in the Adriatic and performed the great ceremony of wedding Venice to the Adriatic. The ring was dropped as a sign of compact.

In early Christian times, the ring was held to be a badge of an office. Thus, we hear of Episcopal rings, Bishops' rings, and "The Fisherman's ring". The ring, presented to the Pope on his being elected by the cardinals, is known as the Fisherman's ring. Fish was held to be emblem of faith.

From the fact that money-payments or gifts of rings certified marriage contracts, the ceremony of betrothal was spoken of in various ways expressing money-gifts or ring-gifts. The following examples show this:—

(1) From the fact that a ring was always used in the ceremony of betrothal, "annulus," the Latin word for ring, was used for a betrothal by some Roman writers.¹ Ring was considered among the Romans as "an earnest of faith". According to Gibbon,² in the fifth century A.D., a ring was considered to be a pledge of affection. It was sent as such by Honoria, a grand-daughter of Emperor Theodorus of Rome, to Attila, the barbarian Hunnish invader of Italy.

(2) The word "subarrhare" (i.e., to give earnest-money) came to mean "to espouse" or to betroth.

(3) Similarly, among the Parsees, the words *𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀* and *𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀*, i.e., "to present money" and "to put on rings" have come to mean "to betroth".

1 Manual of Roman Antiquities by William Ramsay (ed. 1901, p. 477).

2 The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Chapter XXXV, Vol. II (1845), p. 367.

A man or woman was a member of a family or clan which claimed him or her as his own. So, when a bride from one family was taken into another family, the bridegroom's family had to please, not only the parents, but also all her other kinsmen who were members of the family. So, the money-payments or gifts, which were, as it were, the purchase-money for the bride, had to be made, not only to the parents, but also to all the members of the family.

In different tribes or clans, or in the same clan or tribe at different periods of its history, similar payments had to be made to the parents and kinsmen of the bridegroom, who, according to a peculiar custom then common, passed, after marriage, into the family or clan of the bride. So, the parents of the bride had to purchase the consent of the parents and the kinsmen of the bridegroom by money-payments or gifts. The custom, prevalent among some oriental nations, of giving presents in money and dress to the kinsmen of each party, such as *kâki*, *mâmi*, *fûi* (aunts), *kâkâ*, *mâma*, *fuâ* (uncles), and to such other relatives, and the custom, prevalent in the west, to give presents to the bridesmaids, is a relic of the above custom of the purchase of the bride and bridegroom by pleasing the family.

The feasts given to the castes on marriage occasions in India is a relic of the old state of Family feasts or Caste-dinners. in affairs when a person was believed to belong to the whole clan or caste. So, the consent of the whole caste or clan had to be obtained, in case a new member in the form of a bride or bridegroom, was to be received in, or when a member was to be given away in marriage, to another class or caste. This consent was purchased by money-gifts which were latterly turned into caste dinners. Mr. Sidney Hartland says on this point: "If the

consequences of marriage were the severance from the family, or clan, of one of its members, and the union of that member to another family, or clan, so as to become one flesh with it, it is obvious that each of the two families or clans had a very important interest in the transaction. The marriage could affect not only the two principals; it would extend to every member of the family, or clan, forsaken, and every member of the family, or clan entered. Such an interest as this would entitle every member of both to be consulted: and, in the one at least, their assent would be required to its validity. Such assent would be shown, as we have already noted, by the presence and assistance of the kindred at the act of marriage; or it might be signified by gifts. But, however shown, it would in many cases have to be purchased by gifts; and these sometimes constitute the price of the bride.¹... .Bride-purchase is a custom which has been, at some time or other, practised almost all over the world; and where we do not find it still in all its ancient force, we frequently find the relics of it. As, in the progress of civilization, the bonds of the family are drawn tighter, the power of the father over his children increases, and that of the more distant kinsfolk decreases. The substantial price in such cases is paid to the parent, and the other kinsmen are recognized only by a smaller, frequently a nominal, present. Lastly, the gifts on both sides are transferred into a dowry for the bride, and into wedding presents intended for the behoof of the happy couple. In various nations the application of the marriage gifts is found in all stages of transition, from the rudest bargain and sale up to the settlements so dear to English lawyers, and the useless toys which the resources of the newest culture enable us to bestow upon our friends on these interesting occasions,

1 *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January 1893, p. 295.

to assist their early efforts in house-keeping.”¹

This custom reminds us of the “marriages of contribution” of ancient Wales, and the “penny marriages of contribution and penny-weddings” of ancient Scotland. In

Wales, a herald went round, in the town, announcing the marriage, and saying that presents would be received very thankfully and returned on similar occasions. Individual givers of small cash-payments did not feel the burden of the payment; and to the marrying couple and their parents, the total amount of these individual small presents was most welcome, as it enabled them to pay off their wedding expenses and to set up a new house. In the case of the penny-weddings of Scotland, at times, the people of the whole village paid in their small contributions, and took a part in the wedding festival. In some cases, the neighbours collected among themselves and presented to the marrying couple sufficient corn that would last during the whole of the first year of their married life. In Old England, they say, the noblemen in possession of the adjoining estates presented meat, and the milkmen, milk, cheese, eggs, etc., for the wedding feasts. The school-masters, and the priests generally, lent their cooking utensils. The parties receiving these presents kept a note of such presents and were generally ready to give similar presents on the occasion of marriages in the families of those who had given them these presents. In Cumberland, they placed a plate in a prominent spot at the place of marriage, and the assembled friends put their mite into it. In some parts of ancient Europe, on the marriage day, the bride used to sell ale to her and to her husband’s friends at fancy prices. The money so acquired helped them in setting up a new house. In ancient Egypt, the bride held in her hand a

1 *Ibid.* pp. 395-6.

soft substance called *hena*, and the friends put in silver coins in that substance.¹

Up to a few years ago, among the Parsees, a person, generally a near relative or friend, acted as a clerk or collector on marriage occasions. He took his seat in a prominent place with a note-book in his hand. Near friends and relatives, instead of troubling the couple and their parents with their small or large money-gifts, paid them into the hands of the clerk or receiver and made him enter them in the note-book. The memo kept by the receiver proved of use to the parties, when, on similar occasions of marriages in the families of their friends, they had to do a similar thing in return.

Entertainments, known as "Wedding Biddings," were known in England till the end of the 18th century. Therein, all the guests were expected to bring in presents. They expected presents in return on their own marriages. "In some districts, the bidding was publicly done by a herald with a crook or wand adorned with ribbons, who gave a general invitation according to a prescribed form."² A public herald, of this kind, going round the town to bid the invited townsmen to attend a wedding is known among the Parsees at Naosari as *Rav* (રાવ), i.e., a crier.

Next to the presentation of gifts, it is the witnesses who certify the celebration of a marriage. (B) Witnesses to the Marriage. The undermentioned are held as witnesses among various nations:

- (a) Relations or Friends.
- (b) Fire.
- (c) Departed dear ones.
- (d) Bands of music.
- (e) Marriage feasts.

1 "The Knot Tied," by Mr. Tegg.

2 "Marriage Customs," by E. Howlett. *Westminster Review* of 1893, p. 611. •

(a) Among the Parsees, as among many other nations, both the bride and the bridegroom have their near relations or friends as witnesses to the marriage. The Parsees have two witnesses, one, representing the side of the bridegroom, and the other, that of the bride. But besides these, there are some things that are symbolically taken to be witnesses to the marriage.

(b) Fire is, among several Eastern nations, held to be such a witness. Among the Parsees, the word "*divo*", i.e., a lamp, has come to signify a betrothal rite. In the morning of an auspicious day, after the preliminaries of the betrothal, a light, especially that of clarified butter, is lighted in a glass lamp in the house of each party. The ladies of each of the two families go in turn to the house of the other and place a silver coin in the lamp there. This occasion, known as the "*divo*", i.e., "the day of light", is held more important than the preliminary betrothal day. The lamps lighted in the houses of brides and bridegrooms and the silver coin thrown in the lamp by the respective parties symbolize the betrothal and union, of which the lights are, as it were, witnesses. Fire in a vase is present before the marrying couple among the Parsees. It is also present in the form of two burning candles, one by the side of the bride and the other by that of the bridegroom. Fire is a symbol of purity and plenty.

Among the ancient Greeks, the bride's mother carried in her hand the bridal torches kindled at the family hearth, and the bridegroom's mother also carried torches and awaited the procession from the bride's house.¹ Among the

1 "The Home-life of the Ancient Greeks," by Blümner, pp. 139-40. "The Archæologia Græca or the Antiquities of Greece," by Dr. Petter, Vol. II, p. 282.

ancient Romans also nuptial torches played an important part. A child carried "a torch of white thorn" before the bride.¹

Among the ancient Greeks, fire and water were held as symbols of purification, and the bridegroom himself held them in his hand while welcoming his bride in his house.

According to some, the Romans held fire and water before the bride, as "necessaries of life," signifying that he would supply her with all necessities of life. Again, among the Romans, the marriage ceremony was performed before the altar of their Atrium where their sacred fire was burning. In some parts of Australasia, the brides carry fire to the houses of their bridegrooms.

In Hindu marriage ritual, fire played an important part. Before the sacred fire, to which an oblation of clarified butter was offered, were placed a millstone and a water jar. This fire was understood to be a witness of the union of the couple, and, as such, it was perpetually maintained in olden times. Great reverence was shown to the fire and it was never blown upon with the mouth. "Nothing impure was ever thrown into it, nor was it ever used for warming the feet."² Fire was an emblem of God's "creative, fostering and disintegrating energies, a type of His three eternal attributes, Life, Light, Joy." "At Hindu marriages in Conoor, in the Central Himalayas, it is customary for the *Purohit* (family priest) to worship the fire and read the marital vows. These are repeated separately by the bride and the bridegroom; each agrees to live with the other in harmony, they making the fire and the sun their witness-

1 "Marriage Customs," by E. Howlett. *Westminster Review* of 1893, p. 603.

2 "Religious Thought and Life in India," by Monier Williams (1883), p. 364.

es."¹ Among some Indian tribes the mother of the bride welcomes the cavalcade of the bridegroom with a vessel of water surmounted by a lighted *chiragh* (lamp) upon her head.²

(c) Among the Assyrians, the father of the bridegroom invoked "the double of Nebo and of Merodach, as well as the double of the King Assurbanipal, and prayed to them to grant long years of happiness to the young couple. Only a freeman has the right of conducting this symbolic ceremony, or of calling upon the gods to witness a marriage which is being celebrated in their name."³ Thus, we see that, even the spirits of the departed great men were invoked on marriage occasions to stand, as it were, as witnesses to the marriage. The "double" of the departed ones among the ancient Assyrians resembles the Fravashis or the Farohars of the ancient Iranians. These Farohars of the dead are invoked on marriage occasions among the Parsees, in the religious ceremony known as "*varadh patra*" (lit, a leaf of Increase), so called, perhaps, because its celebration was believed to fetch increase or prosperity.

(d) The Pahlavi Dinkard speaks of the presence of musicians, as intended to announce to the outside public, the celebration of the marriage. It says that those who wish to form an union "should make arrangements therefor, and should inform all the people of the city, by means of the drums and pipes used on the occasion of

1 "Punjab Notes and Queries," Vol. II, n. 244.

2 "The Development of Marriage and Kinship," by S. Wake, p. 431.

3 "Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria," by Maspero, p. 230.

marriages, that they are going to marry."¹ A similar reason for the presence of musical instruments at a marriage is assigned by the Yazadis (Notice sur les Yazadis, *Journal Asiatique*, January-February 1896, p. 119). The ringing of church bells in some places, for example, in the rural villages of Lincolnshire, at the conclusion of the publication of the third bann, seems to have a similar signification as that of the announcement of the marriage by musical instruments.²

(e) Among the ancient Greeks, the marriage feasts were believed to signify, that they served as an evidence of marriage. Marriage feasts. "The second end of this entertainment was, that the marriage might be made public; for all the relations of the married couple were invited as witnesses of their marriage, and to rejoice with them."³

(c) Rites and Ceremonies. Under this head we will speak of the following:—

- (a) Planting the *mandap* branch.
- (b) Marking the foreheads of the couple.
- (c) Marking the door-posts of the house.
- (d) Orientation or turning to the East.
- (e) Throwing of rice over the couple.
- (f) The clapping of hands.
- (g) Presenting water before the couple.
- (h) Garlanding or crowning.

1 "Dinkard," by Dastur Peshotan B. Sanjânâ, Vol. II, p. 94, Chap. 89.

2 "Marriage Customs," by E. Howlett, *Westminster Review* of 1893, p. 608.

3 "Archæologia Græca, or the Antiquities of Greece," by Dr. Potter, Vol. II, p. 283.

- (i) Breaking articles of food, like cocoa-nut, eggs, cakes, wine glasses, etc.
- (j) Sacred baths.
- (k) Curtaining and veiling.
- (l) Hand-fastening.
- (m) Skirt-fastening.
- (n) Circling and tying the knot.
- (o) Feet-washing.
- (p) Eating together.

(a) In India, the Hindus, and even the Parsees

of the mofussil towns, have a ceremony known as that of *Mâdav saro*. Formerly, and even now in the mofussil, they used to erect a *mandap*, i.e., a kind of pavilion, near the house for the marriage festivities. This was generally done a few days before the marriage. The foundation of the *mandap* was laid with some ceremony. A green branch of a tree, generally a mango tree, was first planted by a gaily decorated servant. Nowadays, though no *mandap* is erected, the ceremony is gone through, as a relic of the old custom of erecting a *mandap*. The tree has been generally held as a symbol of fertility and fecundity. So, it was planted at the commencement, on building the *mandap*, to wish fecundity to the marrying couple. "The same idea is no doubt to be traced in the form of survival, in the custom of giving a branch of laurel to a bride, which is found, according to Mannhardt, at Carnac in Brittany, in the introduction of a decorated pine-bough into the house of the bride, met with in Little Russia, as well as in the ceremony of "carrying the May" adorned with lights, before the bride and bridegroom in Hanoverian weddings.¹

1 "The Sacred Tree," by Mr. J. H. Philpot, p. 91.

In certain countries, many communities and tribes mark the foreheads of the marrying couple with a kind of pigment. Among the Hindus and Parsees, the pigment is known as *kunku*, which is a kind of red pigment. Among some tribes it is *sindur*, which is red lead. According to Col. Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, a particular marriage ceremony is known among the several aboriginal tribes of Bengal as *Sindur dān*. Therein, the bridegroom marks his bride "with red lead on her forehead."¹ "Among the tribes" who practise this ceremony, it is the essential part of the marriage rite which renders the union of bride and bridegroom complete, in the same way as the putting on of the ring in the marriage service of this country (England)."² In general the bride alone is marked, but among some tribes both are marked. In some tribes, the custom varies in this, that instead of red lead, "blood is drawn from the little fingers of the bride and bridegroom", and with this they are marked.³ The red lead is a mere substitute of blood. Col. Dalton thinks, that the custom symbolizes "the fact that bride and bridegroom have now become one flesh. The other view is that it is a relic of marriage by capture, in which the husband, as a preliminary to connubial felicity has broken his wife's head."⁴ Mr. Sidney Hartland describes several analogous customs and considers them to be the relics of ancient blood covenants observed on marriage.⁵

1 "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal," by E. T. Dalton. An account of the Kharriās, p. 160.

2 The Saptals, the Birhors, the Oraons and other tribes. *Ibid.* pp. 160, 216, 229, etc.

3 *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January 1893, p. 183.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January 1893, p. 143.

6 *Ibid.* pp. 184-88.

"Col. Dalton's interpretation of the custom of marking the bride with red lead, and of its more archaic form of marking her with blood" is this that it is "correlative of the practice of making covenants by blood."¹

Among the Parsees, the red pigment mark on the forehead of a female is always round, and that on the forehead of a male always long and vertical. The long vertical mark of the male symbolizes a ray of the sun, and the round mark of the female symbolizes the moon. A handsome man is compared by oriental writers to the sun, but the beauty of a woman is always compared to that of the moon. The sun is always represented in ancient pictures as a round disc with shooting rays. Again, the sun, through his rays, is a fructifying agent, but the moon is represented as a conceiving agent. So, is man in his relation to woman. Hence it is, that the mark on a man's forehead is long and vertical, like the rays of the sun, and that on a woman's forehead, round, like the moon.

A kind of mark on the forehead is held by some as the mark of an "elect". In some of the glass paintings of the old churches, the angels carry a T like mark, which is a relic of an old x like mark which, in its turn, was the symbol of an elect.² So, in a marriage, the couple, being the "elect" for the time being, carry some marks on their foreheads as symbols. It is considered as "un symbole de vie, de félicité de salut."³

Thus, the ray-like long and moon-like round *kunku* marks have some connection with the ancient sun and

1 *Ibid.* p. 188. *Vide* also "The Development of Marriage and Kinship," by C. S. Wake, p. 430, on the subject of *sindudân* (*Sindrahân*).

2 *Life of Christ as represented in Art* by Dr. Farrar, pp. 23-25.

3 *Ibid.* p. 23.

moon worship. The *Svastika* of the Hindus, which is a mark seen on many of their works of art and in the beginning of their account books, symbolizes the sun-worship. The Buddhists, the Jains, and even the Mahomedans have such marks. Nearly every country in Europe has such marks, as the relics of the ancient sun-worship prevalent there in one form or another.¹ The *tau*, which was a **T** like mark and which was "the sacred sign of life" among the ancient Egyptians, was a similar mark. The cross, which has latterly become a sacred sign and symbol among the Christians, "was also widely known as a pre-Christian symbol. The Spaniards, when they went to South America, found the cross in some of the heathen temples there."²

As Sir George Birdwood has very well said, the highest symbolism of the *Svastika*, which is connected with *kunku*-marking and with orientation, "might well be expressed in Goethe's words: God's is the East, God's is the West, North and South lands repose in peace in His Hands":—

"Gottes ist der Orient!
Gottes ist der Occident!
Nord-und südliches Gelände
Ruht in Frieden seinor Hände."³

Marking the door-posts with red pigment and turmeric

(c) Marking the on marriage occasions is a common practice among the Hindus and Parsees. In India, they apply *haradh* (turmeric),
Door-posts of the House.

1 Mrs. Murray-Aynsley's "Symbolism of the East and West", Chap. IV, The *Svastika*.

2 *Ibid.* p. 68.

3 Mrs. Murray-Aynsley's "Symbolism of the East and West," Introduction by Sir G. Birdwood, p. 17. *Vide Indian Antiquary* of March 1880.

to the door-post. The word *haradh* (turmeric) comes from the root हृ, to shine. Its colour is like that of sunlight. So, turmeric and other drugs of its colour are taken to be the symbols of sun's light, and also of the prosperity and plenty brought about by his fertilizing power. Hence, the turmeric (हृत्) marks on the door-post are auspicious as symbols of prosperity and plenty. Hence it is, that Hindus besmear their account-books with turmeric on the New-Year's day after the *Diwali*. Turmeric is also known as *rajni* (राज्नी), i.e., night, because, in ancient India, young wives decorated their foreheads with auspicious marks of turmeric at sunset, a little before the night-fall, when they expected their husbands back at home from their avocations. The custom of "keeping the door-step warm," practised in the North of England on marriage occasions, seems to have, a similar, though not exactly the same, signification. "As soon as the bride and bridegroom had gone away, and the old shoe had been thrown, a servant, or sometimes the guests, would pour a kettle of boiling water over the front door-step, as an auspice that there would soon be another wedding from the same house—keeping the threshold warm for another bride they called it."¹ Among the ancient Romans the bride applied oil to the door-posts, oil being considered a symbol of prosperity.

Among many nations, the East is considered to be an auspicious direction for the performance

(d) The Custom
of Orientation.

of marriage and other joyful ceremonies.

In India, the marrying couple is made to face the East, when bridal presents are made, and when some of the nuptial ceremonies, e.g., that of making the above said *kunku* marks, are performed. The eastern

¹ "Marriage Customs," by E. Howlett, *Westminster Review* of 1893, Vol. CXL, p. 613.

position signified, that light, warmth and fertility came from the sun that rose in the East. It is for this reason, that Hindu temples and the chambers of the sacred fire in the Parsee fire-temples have generally the eastern position given to their doors. Modern Christians "perpetuate this custom of orientation in the position given to our churches and in turning to the East when we recite the creeds or general assent to the articles of the Christian faith."¹ On this custom of orientation, Mrs. Murray-Aynsley says, "In European common life also, when passing the wine, or dealing a pack of cards, we constantly hear it said that, this should be done 'the way of the sun,' and some persons deem it most unlucky, if, through inadvertence, the bottle be sent round the other way (or from right to left)."²

Rice plays a prominent part as a symbol in marriage rites. It is a symbol of plenty and prosperity. Among the Parsees, (a) the mother of the bride or that of the bridegroom welcomes the bridegroom or the bride at the threshold of the door, by sprinkling some rice over him or her. (b) The officiating priests, in their recital of benedictions, throw rice upon the marrying couple. (c) Even the marrying couple besprinkle rice upon one another, during the ceremony preceding the recital of the *Ashirwād*. (d) Rice is even stuck on the *kunku* marks on the foreheads of the couple.

Among some people, wheat or other kinds of grain are used. Grain is symbolical of plenty. So, that kind of grain which is easily procurable is used. In Poland, the father of the bridegroom after the nuptial benediction, welcomes the married couple into his house by throwing

1 "Symbolism of the East and West," by Mrs. Murray-Aynsley, p. 32.

2 *Ibid.* p. 33.

over their heads grains of barley-corn. The grains so thrown are picked up again and sown, and, if they grow well, that is considered very auspicious.¹ Among the Hebrews also, grains of barley were thrown in the front of the couple, and that was meant "to denote their wishes for a numerous progeny." In Nottinghamshire and Sussex, the sprinkling of rice over the couple was a prevalent custom. In ancient Spain, not only the parents of the couple, but even other passers-by in the street sprinkled corn. Among the Hindus, rice is often sprinkled as a symbol of plenty and prosperity. Among the Brahmins, the father of the bride plants nine different kinds of grain, in five earthen or metal vessels filled with earth collected by him from the hillocks of white ants in the north-east part of his village. A part of the marriage ceremony is performed near the place where the vessels with the sprouting grain stand.

Among the Hindus, some of those present at the marriage throw, after laying the *Mangala sutram*, some coloured rice upon the couple by way of blessing them.

In England also, they throw rice after a newly married couple. It is suggested, that the custom may have arisen in England since its connection with India. Rev. Padfield says on this point: "May it not be that the modern English custom of the throwing rice after a newly married couple, arose from this Indian rite? There are many similar ways in which English customs have originated from our connection with India."² In early Christian art, corn is taken to be the token

¹ "Marriage Customs," by E. Howlett. *Westminster Review* of 1893, Vol. OXL, p. 610.

² "The Hindu at Home," by Rev. J. E. Padfield, p. 129.

of man's labour on earth, just as lamb is taken to be the token of woman's work, viz., spinning.

The throwing of rice by the marrying couple upon each other, among the Parsees, is watched with great interest by their friends, especially by the ladies, the nearest relations among whom urge their respective parties, the bridegroom or the bride, to look sharp and throw the rice first when the signal is given. The dropping of the intervening curtain or the burning of incense is the required signal. The one that throws rice first over the other is said to win. This is, as it were, a race of love. "Who won, the bridegroom or the bride?" is a question often heard in the assembly. This is to signify, that the one, who throws rice first, thereby indicates, that he or she will be foremost in loving and respecting the other. This throwing of rice is accompanied by a clapping of hands by friends and relations who have assembled there. A band of music, if present, immediately begins to play.

The signification of a custom prevalent in Wales on marriage occasions is similar to that of the above mentioned Parsee custom. In some parts of Wales, the friends of both parties went, after marriage at the church, to an adjoining inn to partake of the marriage repast. A few members of both parties ran to the inn. There was a kind of running race between them. The party who ran fast and reached the inn first, guaranteed, as it were, that the bride or bridegroom whom they represented, would be the first to show all love and respect to the other. In some parts of the South of France, when the couple is kneeling at the altar after the marriage, a lady goes before them, and pricks them with a pin. Both try to bear the pain as much as they can. The one, that bawls out or expresses the feeling of pain first, is believed

to be the one that would turn out less patient than the other in suffering the troubles, if any, of married life, and of this world in general.¹

Among the Parsees, the mutual throwing of rice by the marrying couple over each other is attended by a clapping of hands by the assembled guests. This signifies an expression of approval and good-will by the assembly at the union and at the couple's mutual emulation for expression of love. It may as well have been intended as an announcement of the union.

Among the Hindus, "the bridegroom takes the *Man-gala sutram* and with an appropriate declaration, ties it round the neck of the bride. Whilst this operation is being performed, a loud noise is always made by the musicians, with their instruments, and others present by clapping their hands and the like. This is to prevent any sneezing from being heard. Sneezing is considered a very bad omen; and for fear anyone might be seized with an attack during this important operation, the loud noise is made to drown so unlucky a sound, in the event of such an accident."²

Water is considered as a symbol of prosperity. So, it is symbolically used in the marriage rites of various communities. Among the Parsees, (a) in the evening of the marriage day, the ladies of the bride's family present before the bridegroom a water-pot called *var-bshendoo* (वर बेशंदू, i.e., a pot presented to the *var* (husband) as a part of the dowry) and make him dip his hand in it. While doing so, he drops a silver coin

¹ *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January 1893, p. 186 n.

² "The Hindu at Home", by Rev. Padfield (1888), p. 186.

into it as a gift in return for the symbolic presentation of water before him. (b) Again, when welcoming the bride and the bridegroom at the threshold of the house, water is presented before them as a symbol of prosperity.

In India, a person going out on an important business considers it a good omen if he meets one with a pot full of water. Among the ancient Romans both the bride and the bridegroom "touched fire and water, because all things were supposed to be produced from these two elements."¹ Among some Indian tribes, the mother of the bride proceeds with a number of women to welcome the cavalcade of the bridegroom with "a vessel of water surmounted by a lighted *chirâg* (lamp)" in her hand.²

The position of the marrying couple is believed to be elevated for the time being. The very
 (h) Garlanding or Crowning. word *var-rājā* (husband-king) for a bridegroom among the Parsees shows that it is so. So, formerly, among many nations, the marrying couple was made to put on crowns. In ancient Greece, the priest put a crown on the head of the bridegroom. In Athens, a friend of the bride carried a crown. In Egypt, the bride put on a crown. Among the Hebrews, the couple walked under a canopy resembling a crown. In Norway, the bride put on a crown-like jewel. In ancient churches, they kept a metallic crown for the purpose.

The use of garlands in marriages nowadays serves the purpose of crowns. The very word 'garland' means a wreath which is put on the head like a crown. In German, the same word "*kranz*" means a 'garland' and

1 "The Knot Tied," by W. Tegg, p. 73.

2 "The Development of Marriage and Kinship," by C. S. Wake (1889), p. 431.

a 'crown'. Garlands of flowers were common in the marriage customs of the Greeks¹, Romans and Jews. In old Anglo-Saxon churches, the priests blessed the pair and put garlands round them.

The ancient Christians borrowed the custom of bridal crowns or garlands from the ancient Romans, who had adopted it from the ancient Greeks. Though they are known as bridal crowns, they were put on also by the bridegroom. "The rigorousness of early Christian feeling rejected the use of crowns generally, as connected either with the excesses of heathen feasts or the idolatry of heathen worship.....Flowers might be worn as a bouquet, or held in the hand, but not upon the head. It was not long, however, before the natural beauty of the practice freed itself from the old associations and reasserted its claim.....Bridegroom and bride were crowned as victors, assuming their purity over the temptations of the flesh".²

"The bridegroom's wreath was for the most part of myrtle,³ the bride's of verbenä.First, the bridegroom solemnly crowns the bride in the name of the Father,

1 "Archæologia Græca, or the Antiquities of Greece," by Dr. J. Potter, Vol. II, pp. 280-81.

2 Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 511.

3 Cf. the use of myrtle (𐬨𐬀𐬎) among the Mahomedans on marriage occasions. Vide "Dictionary of Islam" by Hughes. Myrtle was, according to Herodotus (VII, 54), a sacred plant among the ancient Persians. It is the *murd* of the Fahlavi Bundeheesh (Ch. XXVII, 24). A species of it, known as *murd gæmin*, was taken to be a flower of Ahura Masda. (Vide my Bundeheesh, p. 129). Among the Romans, Venus was known as *Murtia*, because myrtle was his special flower. The Old Testament takes it to be a sacred flower (Isaiah LV, 13; Jeremiah VIII, 15). Vide my 𐬨𐬀𐬎 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬨𐬀𐬎 (The Ancient Persians), pp. 32-39.

the Son and the Holy Ghost. Then the bride in like manner crowns the bridegroom. Lastly the priest blesses them with the thrice-repeated words "O Lord our God, crown them with glory and honour."

The ceremony of crowning was considered so important, that in the East, the whole marriage was called "Crowning," as in the West it was called "Veiling." At the end of 8 days the crowns were solemnly removed.

While speaking of the use of garlands, we may note here, that certain flowers or plants were used by different nations as symbols in the marriage ceremonies. For example, the myrtle, which was the tree of the Greek goddess Aphrodite, who resembled the Anāhita of the Avesta in several respects, was used in marriage ceremonies among the ancient Greeks.¹

Among the Greeks, "the Boeotians used garlands of wild asparagus, which is full of prickles, but bears excellent fruit, and therefore was thought to resemble the bride, who had given her lover some trouble in courting her, and gaining her affections, which she recompensed afterwards by the pleasantness of her conversation. The house where the nuptials were celebrated was likewise decked with garlands."²

Among many nations, the marrying couples are welcomed at the house by several symbolic rites. Among the Parsees and Hindus, both, the bridegroom and the bride, are thus welcomed on the marriage day at the house of the bride and bridegroom respectively, with various rites.

1 "The Sacred Tree," by Mrs. Philpot, p. 37.

2 "Archæologia Græca, or the Antiquities of Greece," by Dr. Potter, Vol. II, p. 281.

(1) In India a cocoanut is passed round thrice over the head of the bride or bridegroom and then broken. This symbolizes a wish that all evils from the marrying couple may be averted and pass off with the cocoanut. For various views associated with the cocoanut, *vide* my paper "A Note on the original Home of, and the Indian Folklore about, the cocoanut" (Jour. of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIV, No. 4, pp. 517-524).

(2) In Scotland, they used to break a cake over the head of the bride at the threshold of her husband's house, when, after marriage, she entered it for the first time.

(3) Among the Hebrews, after the marriage ceremony, they present before the bridegroom a wine-glass which he breaks as a sign of good omen. All present then shout out "mazzletoun, mazzletoun," i.e., "good luck, good luck." This ceremony among the Hebrews is variously explained. One explanation of it is, that it is to remind the marrying couple of the transitory state of their life, which may be as easily broken as the glass. If so, in one way, it is good to remind the couple that, in life we are in the midst of death. A reminder of death in the midst of hours of joy sounds strange, but the ancients resorted to such customs to teach moderation and temperance.¹

1 We have several similar examples of that method of teaching moderation:—

(a) In the coronation ceremony of the ancient Roman Emperors, they placed a tombstone in the hand of the Emperor who was being crowned.

(b) It is said of the ancient Egyptians, that in their great festivals of rejoicement, they kept, before the assembly, a mummied corpse.

Those things were meant, not only to remind them of the transitoriness of this life, but also to keep them prepared, as it were, for a mishap or grief, so that, if it ever came, it may not surprise and confound them.

According to Mr. E. Howlett, there "is a common saying in Lancashire that a bride should wear at her wedding—

Something old and something new,
Something borrowed, something blue."¹

This custom seems to have a similar signification, viz., that, in the midst of pleasure and gaiety, one must preserve moderation and be prepared for misfortunes, if they come.

(4) In various rites accompanying a Parsee marriage, an egg is passed round the head of the bride or bridegroom and then broken. This seems to be the remnant of the old custom of animal sacrifice on marriage occasions. It signifies a wish that if there be any evil, destined for the marrying party, it may pass off with the egg.

(5) Among the ancient Greeks, on similar occasions, a hog was sacrificed. The gall of the victim was always taken out, and thrown away, to signify the removal of all bitterness from the marriage.² Again, when the bridegroom entered the house with his bride, it was customary to pour

(c) It is said of that well-known Saracen king Saladin, who forms a well-known character in Sir Walter Scott's novel, "Talisman," that, with all his courtly rich dress on big State occasions, he put on a black shirt, to remind himself, that one day he is likely to meet with grief, and that, if there may be some distress among his subjects, it is his royal duty to relieve that distress.

(d) It is said of some sages of old, that, when on joyful occasions they drank sweet sparkling wine, they put into it a pinchful of ash, just to remind them of humility.

1 "Marriage Customs," *Westminster Review* of 1893, Vol. CXL, p. 612.

2 "Home Life of the Ancient Greeks," by Blümner, translated by Alice Zimmern, p. 137. "Archæologia Græca or the Antiquities of Greece" (1813), by Dr. John Potter, Vol. II, p. 279.

upon their heads, figs and diverse other sorts of fruits, as an omen of their future plenty."¹

Among Parsees and Hindus, the solemn ceremony of marriage is preceded by a sacred bath.

(f) Sacred baths. Among the Parsees, it is known as *nāhn*,² which is a contracted form of the Sanskrit word *snān*, i.e., a bath. The sacred bath, which the Hindu bridegroom goes through, is called *Mangalasnānam*³ (blessed and fortunate bathing).

Among the Parsees, the sacred bath is also enjoined on other solemn occasions like that of the Naojote or investiture ceremony of the sacred shirt. Similarly, among the early Christians "a practice existed that catechumens should bathe before baptism, and priests on the eve of certain festivals and other occasions."⁴

Among the ancient Greeks, "among the ceremonies bearing religious character which preceded the wedding, an important part was played by the bath. Both bride and bridegroom took a bath either on the morning of the wedding day or the day before, for which the water was brought from a river or from some spring regarded as specially sacred, e.g., at Athens, the spring Callirhoe (or Eneacrunos), at Thebes, the Ismenus."⁵

Among the ancient Hebrews, sacred baths preceded solemn religious rites. In all these ceremonies, and in

1 "Archæologia Græca or the Antiquities of Greece," by Dr. Potter, Vol. II, p. 232.

2 Vide for this ceremony, my Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees, pp. 95-101.

3 "The Hindu at Home," by Rev. Paddfield, p. 123.

4 "The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks" by Prof. Blümmel, translated by Alice Zimmern, p. 137.

5 Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities" (1875), Vol. I, p. 131.

similar other ceremonies, like those of the washing of hands, observed by the ancient Jews, Christians and Persians, water was taken as a symbol of purity, and physical purity was enjoined as emblematic of moral purity.

Among the Mahomedans of Cairo, there is a solemn, though not strictly religious, bathing ceremony for the bride. She "goes in state to the bath; the procession to the bath is called Zeffet Hammam."¹

Among the Hindus and the Parsees, the couple are, in the early part of the marriage ceremony, separated from each other by a curtain which is latterly dropped, the original object being, that they should not see each other's face before being united in the holy wedlock.

(k) Curtaining
and Veiling.

The veil, put on by a Christian bride, is a remnant of that old custom, signifying that she conceals her face from her husband. Among the early Christians, the custom seems to have come from the Romans. In the later Roman betrothals, girls were brought veiled to betrothal, "because they are united in body and spirit to the man by the kiss and the joining of right hands."² In the ceremony of betrothal, the veil, the kiss, and the clasped hands were among the elements.

An English word for marriage is "nuptial". It comes from *nubere*, to veil, because, in olden times, brides always put on veils. "In the ancient Leonine Sacramentary, the whole Mass (the Nuptial Mass) is entitled *velatio nuptialis* (the nuptial veiling). The putting on of the *flammeum* (the flame-coloured veil) was for the Roman people, even before the Christian era, the most conspicuous external sign of a woman's marriage."

¹ "The Dictionary of Islam," by T. P. Hughes, p. 323; *vide* the word "Marriage".

² Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities", Vol. I, p. 292; *vide* the word "Betrothal".

In the Middle Ages, a canopy or pall or veil was extended equally over both, bridegroom and bride, during the nuptial benediction."¹ The custom is familiar in many parts of Germany, France and Spain. In Spain, while "the veil envelops the bride completely and covers her head, it drapes only the shoulders of the bridegroom."²

(1) Among the Parsees, a certain rite is known as *ādā antar*, અંતર અંતર, i.e., the distance between the two. A curtain is held between the two and they are made to sit opposite to each other. This curtain is then dropped after hand-fastening. This preliminary holding of the curtain and then dropping it later on, signifies, that they were separate up to then, but, with the rite of hand-fastening, the curtain of separation dropped and they were united.

(2) Among the Hebrews, the bride, at first, puts on a veil, which was removed immediately after they were united in marriage.

(3) Among the ancient Christians, when the couple was kneeling in the archway, four of the assistant clergy held over their heads a pall or care-cloth which was afterwards removed.

(4) Among the Russians of the Greek church, "a curtain of crimson taffeta, supported by two young gentlemen, parts the lovers, and prevents them from stealing any amorous glances from each other's eyes!"³

(5) Among the Hindus, the bride and the bridegroom are separated by a curtain. In all these customs, the curtain and the veil symbolize the original separation, and the later dropping off of the curtain and removal of the veil signify union.

1 "The Marriage Ritual of Toledo," by Rev. Thurston in the *Nineteenth Century and After* of July 1906, pp. 119-120.

2 *Ibid.* p. 120.

3 "The Knot Tied," by W. Tegg, p. 106.

In early times, among the Christians, "the veiling came to be a symbolical act, making part of the marriage ceremony and symbolising the woman's forsaking all others and keeping her charms for her husband alone..... In the West, the word "velatio" came to signify the whole marriage ceremony, and it became customary to lay the veil on both bride and bridegroom at the time of the benediction".¹

The custom of fastening the hands of the couple

(1) Hand-fastening is common among many nations. It symbolizes union.

Among the Parsees, before the recital of the marriage benediction, the priest gives the right hand of one into the right hand of the other, and ties raw twist round their united hands with the recital of the sacred Avesta formula of Ahunavar. This ceremony is known as that of *Hāthevāro*, i.e., hand-fastening.

Among the Christians, "before the Council of Trent, a valid marriage in the eyes of the church might be effected by a simple declaration of the parties to be man and wife," but, after the Council of Trent, "it was customary in many places for the priest to entwine the ends of his stole² round the joined hands of the bride and bridegroom at the words, 'those whom God has joined together,' in token of the indissoluble union thereby effected"³. Up to the 18th century, there was a custom in

1 Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," II, p. 1108.

2 Silk band worn by bishops. It hangs round the shoulders up to the knees.

3 The *Westminster Review* of 1893, Vol. OXL, p. 602. Article on Marriage Customs by M. E. Howlett. *Vide* also "The Marriage Ritual of Toledo," by Rev. Thurston in the *Nineteenth Century* of July 1906, p. 117.

England, that the marrying couple went to the river adjoining the town, washed their hands, and each grasping the other's hand took the oath of marriage. This was known as hand-fastening. In Finland, it is the father of the bridegroom who fastened the hands.

Among the ancient Greeks, the ceremony of hand-fastening was considered as the ratifying agreement of marriage.¹ Among the ancient Romans, the priest made the marrying couple sit on chairs, which were put together, and on which wool was spread, and then fastened their hands. Among the Assyrians, it was the father of the bridegroom who fastened the hands of the couple with a woollen thread, which is considered to be "the emblem of the bond which henceforth links the wife to the husband."²

Among the Hill men of Rājmahāl, the father of the bride places her hand in the hand of the bridegroom and "in doing so, charges the husband to be loving and kind."³ Among the Melanesians, "the oldest man present joins the right hand of the young couple."⁴

Hand-fastening is observed in all Hindu marriages. The father of the bride "takes the right hand of the bride, and placing it underneath the curtain, in the right hand of the bridegroom, pours over the clasped hands some water from the vessel."⁵

Among the Mahomedans, "the Qāzi requests the bride's attorney to take the hand of the bridegroom"⁶ and to

1 "Archæologia Græca or the Antiquities of Greece," by A. R. Potter, Vol. II, p. 268.

2 "Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria," by G. Maspero, p. 230.

3 *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January 1893, p. 184.

4 "Social History of the Races of Mankind," by A. Featherman, p. 33; vide also p. 439. "Symbolism of the East and West," by Mrs. Murray-Aynsley, p. 159.

5 "The Hindu at Home," by Rev. Padfield, p. 125.

6 "Dictionary of Islam," by T. P. Hughes, p. 318. Vide the word "Marriage".

recite the words of consent. Among the Mahomedans of Egypt, "the bridegroom and the bride, *wakeel*, sit upon the ground, face to face, with one knee upon the ground and grasp each other's right hand, raising the thumbs and pressing them against each other."¹

Among the several Parsee observances, observed by some, after the performance of the solemn ceremony of marriage, there is one that is known as that of tying the *cheddâ chhedî* (Շէ՛՛ Ծ՛՛ Կիւզի), i.e., fastening the skirts of the garments of the couple. The nearest friend or relation of the couple ties the skirts of the *jâmâ* (the loose dress) of the bridegroom with that of the *sârî* (the flowing dress) of the bride. Thus united, the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom. The Hindus also have a similar ceremony known as that of tying the Brâhma knot.²

Among the Hebrews, the bride and the bridegroom were made to walk under a canopy or a sheet of cloth. This signified unity of protection. This custom seems to be another form of that of fastening the skirts of each other's garments. The Hebrew spouse in the above custom said: "His banner over me was love."³ A Hebrew bridegroom, at one part of the ceremony, also spread the skirt of his garment over the head of his bride. That was meant to signify that the bride was now under his protection.

The old Aztec priest fastened the end of a part of the long veil of the bride to the skirt of the bridegroom's gown, and thus united, the bride went to the house of the bride-

1 *Ibid.* p. 323.

2 "The Hindu at Home," by Rev. Padfield, p. 124. *Vide* also "Symbolism of East and West," by Mrs. Aynsley, p. 150.

3 "The Knot Tied," by William Tegg, p. 55.

groom.¹ According to Dalton,² among the Buniyas, on the appearance of the stars at nightfall, the skirts of the garments of the couple were bound together. Among the Santals also the clothes of the married couple were tied together as a symbol of their union.³

Among the Parsees, before the recital of the marriage benedictions, a piece of cloth is passed round the couple, and its ends are united into a knot by the officiating priest, with the recital of the sacred formula of Ahunavar. It is further tied by a raw twist which is put round the knot seven times with a similar recital. The marrying couple is thus, as it were, enclosed in a circle. They are similarly enclosed in a circle of raw twist put round them seven times with seven recitals of the above sacred formula. A circle signifies an endless union. Hence, the ceremony signified the union of the couple till the end of their life. The number seven plays a prominent part in this preliminary ritual, because seven was a sacred number among the ancient Persians, who had seven Ameshaspen-tas or archangels,⁴ seven heavens and seven *keshvars*, i.e., zones or regions.

This custom of encircling the couple with a piece of cloth seems to be similar to that of covering them with one cloth. It is prevalent among many Dravidian tribes and among the Abyssinians. It is still prevalent among the Hebrews, among whom the husband is said to "spread his

1 *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January 1893, Vol. V. Mr. Sydney Hartland's article entitled "A Marriage Custom of the Aborigines of Bengal: A study in the Symbolism of Marriage Ceremonies."

2 Dalton's "Ethnography of Bengal," p. 148.

3 *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January 1893, p. 203. *Vide* also "Symbolism of the East and West," by Mrs. Aynaley. pp. 150-51, for this custom among several tribes.

4 These seven Ameshaspen-tas remind us of the seven spirits of the Christians.

skirt over his handmaid."¹ In France, a canopy is held over the couple during the marriage ceremony². According to an old Hessian usage, the bridegroom flung the folds of his large mantle over the bride so that both could be covered by it.³ The custom of the *jugale* among the modern Spaniards is a form of this custom. "After the nuptial blessing, a band or ribbon was thrown round the married couple, binding them together, and in this way symbolising their union."⁴

Among the Parsees, at the conclusion of the solemn part of the ceremony, at some marriages, (o) Feet-wash- ing. they wash the feet of the couple. As the Parsees now put on English boots, it being a little troublesome to remove the boots, the custom is to wash the tip of the boots with a little water. In Scotland, in the 18th century, the unmarried friends of the bride washed her feet on the evening preceding the marriage. The custom is still known in some parts of Scotland as that of "feet-washing". It was known among the ancient Hebrews. Among the ancient Romans also they washed the feet of the couple.

The washing of one's feet by another symbolises kindness towards the one whose feet are washed. In India, and in other Eastern countries, it is customary for the host or for his family to wash the feet of travelling guests. We learn from the Bible, that the washing of feet, though not observed on marriage occasions, was considered to be an act of kindness or homage. In the book of Timothy (I Timothy, v. 10) washing the feet of holy persons is

1 *The Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January 1893, p. 190.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January 1893, p. 190.

4 "The Marriage Ritual of Toledo," by Rev. Thurston. *The Nineteenth Century* of July 1896, p. 120.

considered a meritorious act. Even Jesus, according to the book of St. John (John XIII, 1-8), washed the feet of his disciples. "The washing of feet" formed part of the baptismal rites among the early Christians in the West. It was known as "pedilavium". A similar observance is observed during the Holy Week at Rome even now. The Pope also takes a part in it. It is observed on the Thursday of the Holy Week. This Thursday is known as the Maundy Thursday.

Among the Hindus, the bride's mother brings in a vessel of water, and her father washes "the bridegroom's feet, sprinkling some of the water on his own head. He then takes the right hand of the bride and placing it underneath the curtain, in the right hand of the bridegroom, pours over the clasped hands some water from the vessel This pouring of water over the clasped hands is one of the most important ceremonies of the whole proceedings. After this is done, the curtain, which has hitherto separated the bride and bridegroom, is removed, and they see each other." On the second day after marriage, the bride goes in procession to the house of the bridegroom and returns with him to her father's house. On their return home, their feet are washed by some attendants.

Among some tribes, *e.g.*, the Melanesians, it is the bride who washes the feet of the bridegroom after the marriage prayer offered by their *dikun* (priest).¹

Among the ancient Greeks, before the couple "went to bed, the bride bathed her feet." The Athenians always fetched this water for this bath from the fountain Callirhoe.²

¹ "Social History of the Races of Mankind," by Featherman, p. 399.

² "Archæologia Græca or the Antiquities of Greece," by Dr. Potter, Vol. II, p. 235.

Among the Parsees, at the conclusion of the marriage ceremony, the couple are made to partake of some food from the same dish.

(2) Eating together. They give into the heads of one another a few morsels of food. This rite signified that, now, being united in the bond of marriage, they had to board together and to share each other's happiness and grief. This repast is known as "*Dahi koomro*," from the fact, that *dahi* (curd) which forms an auspicious article of food on gay occasions, formed the essential part of the dish. The Hindus have a similar custom.¹

Among the ancient Romans, one of the forms of marriage was *Confarreatio*, which was a ceremony in which the bridegroom and the bride tasted a cake, made of flour with salt and water in the presence of the high priest and at least ten witnesses. This rite was said to symbolize the community of life, of property, of family worship, that henceforth united them.² The round cake of this ceremony of nuptial eating among the ancient Romans was called the "*panis farreus*".³ Among the Roman patricians, many generally resorted to this form of marriage, and the couple was made to sit on one and the same piece of leather prepared from the skin of a sheep killed for the marriage sacrifice. Among the ancient Greeks, the married couple ate a quince.

The bridal cake of Christian marriages seems to be a relic of the ancient Roman custom.⁴ Colonel Dalton gives, in his *Ethnography*, several instances of tribes among whom this custom of making the couple eat together is still prevalent. As the Romans sat on one and the same

1 "The Hindu at Home," by Rev. Padfield, p. 133.

2 "The Knot Tied," by Tegg, p. 70.

3 *The Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January 1863, p. 191.

4 "Marriage Customs," by E. Howlett, *Westminster Review* of 1863, Vol. CXL, p. 604.

piece of leather in their *Confarreatio* ceremony, so some of these tribes also sit together on one and the same piece of leather.

Among the Hebrews, there was a custom, known as nuptial drinking, wherein both were made to drink from one and the same cup of wine, which was consecrated and blessed by the Rabbi.¹ In Russia and Scandinavia also, the couple are required to drink wine from the same cup. In Hesse, the couple eats from the same plate and drinks from the same cup. According to a writer of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, in old Lombardy, the only marriage rite was this: that the marrying couple drank from the same cup and kissed each other. Latterly, when the clergy protested against this simple rite without any religious element in it, the benedictions from the priest and a sermon were added to it.

Among the Melanesians, the couple gave each other three morsels from a dish called "sago mash". The bride then gave a little tobacco to the bridegroom, who, in his turn, gave a betel-nut to the bride.²

In Dardistan also, after the marriage ceremonial, "some rice, boiled in milk, is brought in, of which the boy and the girl take a spoonful."³

The custom of nuptial eating existed among the Santals and other tribes of Bengal. According to Dalton, "the social meal that the boy and girl eat together is the most important part of the ceremony, as by the act the

1 *Westminster Review* of December 1893, p. 603.

2 "Social History of the Races of Mankind," by D. Featherman, p. 32.

3 Dr. Leitner's article, entitled "Legends, Songs, Customs and History of Dardistan," in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January 1893, Vol. V, p. 183.

girl ceases to belong to her father's tribe, and becomes a member of her husband's family."¹

The custom also exists among the people of the Malay Peninsula. The couple exchange "plates containing small packages of rice wrapped up in banana-leaves," and eat the rice contained therein.² Among the Papuans, "a pot filled with sago-mush is placed before the married couple of which they serve to each other, in turn, three mouthfuls in alternate succession."³ Among some tribes "a roasted banana is presented to the young couple, of which one-half is eaten by the bridegroom and the other by the bride to symbolize their indissoluble union."⁴ Among the Yeza-dees, the couple eat between them consecrated bread.⁵

The marriage ceremonies of the ancient Aryans consisted of three essential parts. (1) The abandonment of his authority over the bride by her father. (2) The formal delivery of the bride to the bridegroom. (3) The presentation of the bride to the House Spirits in her new home, for which purpose, on her entrance into the house, "she was presented with the holy fire and the lustral water, and she partook, along with the husband, in the presence of the Lord, of the symbolic meal."⁶

The custom of nuptial drinking is similar to that of nuptial eating. Both signify the same thing. Among the early Christians, "the drinking of wine in the church at weddings was enjoined by the Hereford Missal."⁷ The

1 Dalton's "Ethnography of Bengal," p. 216.

2 *Asiatic Quarterly* of January 1893, p. 192.

3 "Social History of the Races of Mankind," by D. Featherman, p. 32.

4 *Ibid.* p. 33.

5 *Asiatic Quarterly* of January 1893, p. 192.

6 "The Development of Marriage and Kinship," by C. S. W. Ke, p. 398.

7 "Marriage Customs," by E. Howlett, *Westminster Review* of 1893, Vol. OXL, p. 603.

priest used to bless this wine. Up to the middle of the last century, this custom survived in Durham.¹ The custom of nuptial drinking existed in the Greek Church and also among the Jews.²

According to Dalton, among some Bengal tribes, for example, among the Hos, "a cup of beer is given to each; the groom pours some of the contents of his cup into the bride's cup, and she returns the compliment. Drinking the liquor thus blended, they become of one Kili, that is, the bride is admitted into her husband's tribe, and they become one."³ In the Singbhum villages also, the bride and bridegroom drink beer together.⁴

The Li-ki, a Chinese book of ritual, while speaking of "the meaning of the marriage ceremonies," says of the marrying couple that "they ate together of the same animal,⁵ and joined in sipping from the cups made of the same melon, thus showing that they now formed one body, were of equal rank, and pledged to mutual affection".⁶

Among the Melanesians, the *wallian* (a medicine-man or priest) "consecrates the union by requiring the two young people to sit down on a mat, side by side, surrounded by a circle of invited guests; and putting a small quantity of betel into the hand of each; they exchange it and chew it in the most solemn manner."⁷

In country places in Hesse, the couple "drink together out of one cup or eat together off one plate with one spoon, as a token of their union.....To this day in Hesse the

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. Dalton's "Ethnography of Bengal," p. 193.

4. "The Development of Marriage and Kinship," by G. S. Waks, p. 430.

5. i.e., the animal sacrifice.

6. S.B.E., Vol. XXVIII, The Li-Ki, Book XLI, pp. 439-440.

7. "Social History of the Races of Mankind" by Featherman, p. 54.

custom is preserved in the *weinkauf* (lit. wine-purchase), or assembly of relatives on both sides. At this assembly, the conditions are fixed on which the bride is to be discharged from her native kin to enter the kindred and protection of the bridegroom. When these are arranged she drinks to her bridegroom in token of her consent, and both then drink out of the same glass."¹

The marriage parties and marriage feasts may, in one way, be taken as a development of the custom of nuptial eating and drinking. "The remains of the cake, which, in the Roman ceremony of *Confarreatio*, had been broken and eaten by the bride and bridegroom, were distributed among the guests; just as our own bride-cake, after being cut by the bride and bridegroom, is shared with the entire wedding party."² This is a kind of feast to the assembled guests. It may be considered as a form of the feast given formerly to the tribesmen, or clansmen, to get their assent to the marriage. It was a form of payment to them to purchase their assent to the marriage.

In the marriage feasts of the Parsees, fish is considered to be an auspicious article of food. Fish continued to be a symbol of buoyancy and truthfulness among the Christians up to the time of Constantine. In Eucharistic feasts, it was always eaten with wine and bread.

1 *Asiatic Quarterly* of January 1893, Vol. V, pp. 193-94.

2 *Asiatic Quarterly* of January 1893, Vol. V, p. 194.

A FEW STRAY NOTES OF ANTHRO- POLOGICAL INTEREST WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS.¹

The object of this paper is to submit, with observations, a few stray notes of anthropological interest suggested by some recent publications.

A recent book of Mr. Donald A. Mackenzie (*The Migration of Symbols and their Relations to Beliefs and Customs*) draws our attention to some of our Indian symbols. In the matter of the design of several things bearing symbols, a question arises, as to whether the motif is 'Art motif' or 'Luck motif', i.e., whether the design was spontaneously suggested as a piece of art, or whether it was suggested by the view of seeking good luck. In many cases, originally, the motif is a "luck motif", the origin of which is lost. "All the great ancient arts were rooted in religious and magico-religious beliefs..... What some call 'an art motif' was after all really "a luck motif".² One of such symbols is the spiral. Mr. Mackenzie has a special section

1 This paper was read on 2nd July 1930 before the Anthropological Society of Bombay (Vol. XIV, No. 6, pp. 717-731).

2 Mackenzie, "The Migration of Symbols," Foreword, p. x

on the subject of the spiral, headed "The Spiral and Birth" (Chapter II, Section IV).

On the authority of a Hindu friend, Mr. Mackenzie says: "A red spiral is painted on Hindu bedroom doors, when a birth is about to take place, while the birth amulets include whorled shells which are placed in and outside the bedroom, to assist birth. It is believed that the symbol and amulets will cause the child to perform the necessary spiral movement before birth".¹ Then Mr. Mackenzie adds "According to Celtic belief it should turn sun-wise—that is, to the right, like the season-controlling constellation, the Great Bear. Even food was supposed, when swallowed, to proceed 'to the right'." In this case, the spiral has grown to be a lucky symbol from a "luck motif".

Mr. Mackenzie's explanation about a spiral being a lucky symbol is this: Air and water are life-givers. Creeping plants, whirlwinds, water-spouts and whirl-pools are the result of the movement of both—air and water. Now, the movements of these are generally in the form of a spiral. So, a spiral becomes a symbol. That is quite possible. Just as a wheel, giving the idea of the circulation of the heavenly bodies, has become a symbol, so has a spiral become a symbol. As all the movements of air and water which are "life-givers" are in the form of a spiral, the spiral began to be considered as a symbol of life-giving, as a symbol of birth.

I think, that it is the cord that is found attached to a child at birth that has given to a spiral the idea of a lucky symbol. Another possible explanation. The cord (गिर) attached to a child at birth, is not destroyed at once, but is kept hanging with the cradle of the child in some Parsee houses after the delivery of the

1. *Ibid.* p. 111.

child. It is buried at the end of the religious period of accouchement, when the lady passes from a state of impurity into purity. With the period of accouchement,—generally 40 days among the Parsees,—the period of danger or risk to the child ends. The passing from a state of conventional impurity to that of purity is like passing from a kind of dangerous state to a safe state. Thus, the cord was supposed to represent life; and so, it was kept hanging, in the room of accouchement during the period of impurity, which was a period of a kind of danger as well. So, when the period of danger ended, the cord was ceremoniously or respectfully buried in the ground. Now, the cord is somewhat in the form of a spiral. So, I think that, it may be from this circumstance, that the cord-like spiral came to be used as a life-giving or luck symbol. We read in "The Lore of All Ages":—"The belief that vital energy existed in or entered through the spiral-shaped navel is of very special interest. Behind the world-wide custom of carefully disposing of the navel string and placenta, lay the belief that the latter was the child's double (the Egyptian Ka). If anything happened to these the child suffered loss of vitality.¹" The double, corresponding to the Egyptian Ka, is the Fravashi of the Parsee Scriptures².

The movement of the child in the womb of the mother is said to be spiral and it is "sun-wise,"
 A Sun-wise Movement. that is, to the right like the season-controlling constellation, the Great Bear. Even food was supposed, when swallowed, to proceed to the right." Mr. Mackenzie quotes a parish minister of Callander in Perthshire to say: "When a Highlander goes to bathe

1 "Lore of All Ages," p. 114.

2 *Vide* my paper "The Belief about the Future of the Soul among the Ancient Egyptians and Iranians." Jour. R. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX, pp. 364-74. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 133-39.

or to drink waters out of a consecrated fountain, he must always do so by going round the place from East to West on the south side.....This is called in Gaulic 'going round the right or the lucky way.' The opposite course is 'the wrong, or the unlucky way,'¹ and if a person's meal or drink were to affect the wind-pipe or come against his breath, they instantly cry out 'desheal' which is an ejaculation praying that it may go by the right way." Among the Parsees, when such an affection occurs to a child, the mother or any lady that is near, instantly cries out: "ઘર ડે", i.e., "look up." With these words the child is made to look upwards. This looking up is believed to relieve the child of the choking of the wind-pipe. To help the child to look up, at times, it is added: "ઘરિ ઘરિ ઘરિ ઘરિ ઘરિ ઘરિ", i.e., "your mother-in-law prepares *bhajiàn*" (which is a kind of cakes without sugar). The original idea to ask the child to look upwards seems to be that of looking up to God for help and prayer in this somewhat dangerous position.

The sun-wise position or sun-wise movement has an important place in Parsee ritual and ceremonies. It reminds us of a Parsee's movement at the recital of his Nemo-songham prayer spoken of as "The homage to four sides" (ઘરિ ઘરિ ઘરિ ઘરિ), wherein the worshipper, while reciting the prayer, turns to the four sides, sun-wise, i.e., East, South, West and North. Again, when a Parsee unties and re-ties his *kusti* or sacred thread, he has to observe these sun-wise directions. In the morning, he turns to the East; in the noon, from mid-day to 3 o'clock in the afternoon, he turns to the South. After 3 upto nightfall, he turns to the West.² During the night, he turns towards a burning lamp

¹ Mackenzie, op. cit. p. 111.

² Some observe only two directions. From morning to noon towards the East and from noon to nightfall towards the West.

which represents the sun during the dark hours. The North is avoided as an unlucky side. It seems that the ancient Persians had bad experience of the North. The people of Mazinderan on the North gave them much trouble. Again, the winds from the North were unhealthy. Winds from the South were healthy and always welcome as driving away evil influences of the weather.

According to the information given to Mr. Mackenzie by a Hindu friend, amulets and whorled shells "are placed in and outside the bedroom to assist birth" at delivery. Now, the question is: Why have the shells come to be significant as a symbol? The signification, according to Mr. Mackenzie, is this: Just as primitive women began to take shelter in their cave-dwellings at the time of their delivery, female fish also take shelter in their shells at the time of breeding. So, a shell came to be taken as a symbol of protection at delivery. This belief has something to do with the belief of "fish" being a symbol of good luck. Fish, on account of its sprightliness is a symbol of good luck among the Parsees. It seemed to be so among the early Christians.

II

Amulets play an important part in the social life of many communities. We know that in the War Exhibition held at the close of the last Great War, there was a special section for amulets, found on the bodies of a large number of soldiers of all nationalities killed in the war. They were intended to ward off difficulties and dangers from the soldiers who put these on.

Now, we find, that amulets are put on, not only for keeping off calamities but at times also for creating calamities. A book of travels, named "Two Summers in the
Amulets, serving two opposite purposes.

Ice-wilds of Eastern Karakoram", by Fanny Bullock Workman and William Hunter Workman¹ (1917), presents an instance of this kind. Mrs. Workman says about her visit of 1912: "In 1912, Byramji² found on his arrival at Goma, that the Zamindars, or coolies, were perturbed at our return and at the prospect of a still longer sojourn than the previous one of three weeks on the Rose. The mullahs or priests of the valley had been doing a lucrative business in exhorting the gods and preparing amulets for which they were paid by the coolies.....They were said to contain petitions to the gods to bring storms or other calamities, that might limit our stay in the snows and force us to return and leave the Saltora valley. These, the mullahs told the agent, were the facts, and they doubtless spoke the truth".³

To understand well, what is said here, one must remember, that in the Himalayas, we have forced labour. While travelling there, you have to inform on your arrival at one stage, the village officer, that you wanted so many coolies the next day. The coolies then were procured for you, whether they (coolies) were willing or not.⁴ Here, in

1 P. 126.

2 This Parsee Byramji referred to by Mrs. Workman, is Mr. Tehmuras Byramji Saklatwala of Srinagar. Mrs. Workman had engaged him during two of her tours in the Himalayas. She says of this Parsi in one place that he spoke "fluently English, Persian, Urdu and Balti" (*ibid.* page 29) and that she had engaged him "to fill the important position of agent, to proceed.....in charge of extra supplies" (*ibid.*) I had the pleasure of meeting him during two of my three visits of Kashmir and found him a very entertaining man, full of folklore and stories of travels in some parts of the Himalayas. Latterly, he had joined the Police force of the Kashmir State. 3 *Ibid.* p. 126.

4 During my visit of the Kangra and Kulu valleys of the Himalayas in the Punjab in 1900, I remember that I was touched once at the sight of the coolies being thus forced to leave their meals and get out of their huts to serve, though the service in this case, was for myself. This practice existed from older times, and Emperor Jehangir is said to have forbidden it.

this case, in one of her former expeditions, they had to remain long on the snowy mountains. So, during this expedition, they prayed that, by the virtue of the amulets, the party may be overtaken early with storms which would force the party to return earlier. In this sense, the amulets were like some of, what we call, our "Intercession prayers". We, at times, pray for having rain, and, at times, for the ceasing of rain.

As to the substance that form amulets, they are various. When prepared by members of the priestly class, they generally consist of pieces of papers on which some sacred formulæ are written. But, at times, various substances serve as amulets. Revd. Plessis speaks of a town of Africa, where he saw in a public market a number of articles, serving as amulets for sale. He saw "horns of goats which the butcher has cast on the dunghill, the beaks of fowls and other birds;the dried up claws of a couple of monkeys; the hands of a gorilla, looking so human that I drew off in horror, suspecting my neighbours of cannibalistic practices."¹ Revd. Plessis adds, that "this weird collection was spread out in quite an artistic fashion much as a dealer in antiques would show-window his goods".² They were all intended as "amulets, charms, medicines, mysterious potions and the accessories of witchcraft generally to be stirred into the pot on a dark and stormy night."³

Shakespeare, in his Macbeth, as referred to by Revd. Plessis, names a number of animals, the various parts of which perhaps formed the paraphernalia of itinerant medicine-mongers of the England of his time. We read:—

1 "Thrice through the Dark Continent. A Record of journey across Africa during the years 1913-16" by J. du Plessis, p. 50.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.* p. 51.

" Fillet of a fenny snake
 In the cauldron boil and bake
 Eye of newt and toe of frog
 Wool of bat and tongue of dog
 Adder's fork and blind worms' sting
 Lizard's leg and owlet's wing
 For a charm of powerful trouble
 Like a hell-broth boil and bubble."¹

All this reminds us of what we see, even now, in our city and in some towns and villages of our country. Here, some itinerant so-called medical men, of a class much lower than that of those who are spoken of as quacks, move about with their itinerant paraphernalia of, not only some country drugs, but also of the various parts of the bodies of different animals,—lizards, tigers, bears, rabbits, etc.,—all serving as amulets. I have seen, at times, such itinerant amulet-doctors, sitting, with their variety of drugs and amulets, on the foot-paths of our General Telegraph Office.

I also remember having seen often in the streets of Bombay—not so much now as before—a person carrying a trained bear to practise some antiques as taught by the showman. But a powerful attraction of the illiterate,—and even of some literate, in the sense in which Census officers understand the word—towards the bear was to have the bear's hair as amulets. They paid a pice or two to the owner and purchased some hair of the bear. These hair seemed to serve as an amulet for children, who, when they had these hair on their bodies, were supposed to be free from taking any kind of fright.

It will be interesting for many to know,—and I think many do not know this fact,—that these itinerant medicine-men and amulet-mongers have regular seasons for coming

¹ Macbeth, Act IV, Scene I.

to and leaving our city of Bombay, not singly but in groups, not by train, but on foot, as regular caravans, with their families and furniture, and even some domestic animals. I remember seeing, more than once, near the Byramji House (Elphinstone Point) on the top of the Bore Ghaut road leading from Karjat to Khandala, caravans of this kind, resting there for the night. Before the approach of the monsoons, they return to their villages in the Ahmednagar District and come back to Bombay, in about November, for their itinerant profession as medical men. I once saw one of the men of this caravan of travelling doctors of medicines and amulets, carrying a modern doctor's rusty lancet to act as a surgeon, if required.

I think that the beliefs and profession of these amulet-mongers, who are seen in Asia, Africa and in Europe, serve as an illustration of, the view of the school of Evolutionists. The beliefs about the efficacy of these amulets seem to have evolved independently in different countries. The use of a particular part of a particular animal may have originated with some particular view. For example, take the above case of the hair of a bear. A bear is a ferocious animal. Its sight is not pleasant. It creates a kind of fright among children. So, a part of its body—and hair is the most convenient and easily portable part—is used as an amulet to keep away fright from children.

We are not in a position to say what the origin of the use of each of the above parts of different animals is, but we can surmise, from the above said use of the hair of a bear, that, possibly, the origin is something of that kind. Again, the particular parts of different animals may have to do with the particular affected parts of the patients, i.e., the

Candle offerings
in a Catholic
Church.

persons for whom the amulets were first prepared. To understand properly cases of that kind, we will take the case of the candle-offerings in a Roman Catholic church. We know that, if the candle offering is in the form of a hand, it is intended as an offering to pray, that the complaint of hand, from which the person is suffering, may soon be cured. If the wax offering is in the form of a foot it is the foot of a person that is prayed for to be cured. The same is the case with the offerings of waxwork, representing different parts of the body from which persons are suffering and from which they are prayed for to recover.

I remember seeing in a number of Roman Catholic churches in Europe, the offerings of what are called "hearts" in silver or gold. This kind of offering is significant. The worshipper offers a heart—in silver or gold, embedded at times with precious jewels—to signify, that he was "heart and soul" devoted to the church and to all the personages and pious thoughts associated with the church, and that he prayed from his heart that the particular desire for which he prayed may be fulfilled. The 'heart', being a part of the body, the practice of offering in other cases, parts of the body other than the heart, may be associated with heart-offering.

III

It seems that, in very early Palaeolithic age, Man had no

A few views about Marriage in early times. pride of being Man, superior to animals from whom he had risen. So, when there were sexual promptings, he had no special

prejudices of having sexual intercourse with animals. Mr. E. O. James's "Primitive Ritual and Belief" presents before us various views of marriage rites when Man advanced in views and began to take some pride in himself as Man—Man as different from animals.

A question is often raised: Whether the origin of the institution of Marriage is social or religious? Present investigations show it to be religious. In later culture, it was considered to be a civil act. In much olden times, though the church, *i.e.*, the priests, did not officiate at marriages, still marriage was considered to be a religious rite. From an anthropological point of view, marriage is a social institution. In olden times, there was an exchange in marriages, *i.e.*, one gave his sister in marriage to a son in a family, in exchange of having a wife from that family. In some communities, they betrothed children even before their birth. This shows that there was no idea of promiscuity, but there was one of individuality. So, parents sought partners for their coming children even before their birth.

The marriage ceremonies among the ancients, and even some marriage among some modern Australian tribes, ceremonies, consisted of the following:—

(a) The bride while entering the bridegroom's house, broke the post near the door, which she used to take hold of, while going in and out of the house. This helps us to understand our Indian custom of not placing the foot on the threshold but of crossing it. In some communities the bride is bodily lifted up the threshold. The explanation is this: One, while going in or out of the house, catches hold of the post of the threshold, in order to have some support. Now, the crossing, without placing the foot on the threshold, signified that one, now—at the time of marriage and after that—did not want any support of the post.

(b) We speak of eating a marriage feast. The original real signification of the words is this: The marrying couple used to furnish the house with eatables for the marriage before the occasion itself. Those who could not do so postponed marriage till they were in a position

to do so. They married, when they had collected sufficient food for their consumption. The bride and bridegroom ate together at marriage. Hence the phrase "Consummation of marriage". *अन्नं खाति*, i.e., "to eat marriage" means "to eat the eatable things that were collected." The old Roman word for marriage ceremony, *confarreatio*, points to this custom.¹ We have, in India, a custom wherein the marrying couple eat together curd and rice (*अन्नं खाति*). That also signifies a kind of consummation or eating together. "Food produces flesh"; so, by eating food together, they try to become of "one flesh". Among the Catholics, they perform the ceremony of Mass during the marriage, wherein both the parties partake of bread (communion).

Nowadays the phrase, "to eat the marriage" (*अन्नं खाति*) is used in the case of the guests invited at the marriage. They also are said to be "eating the marriage". In old times, almost all the people of a village participated in the marriage rejoicings of a marrying couple in the village. They paid their share in the expenses of the marriage feast, both in kind and money. In Scotland, in olden times, such marriages were, at times, spoken of as "Penny weddings"². Village-friends gave their marriage presents in the above form and they were all invited at marriages. At present, rich presents, mostly in articles of household use, have replaced the presents of the "penny weddings".

1 In the phraseology *अन्नं खाति*, i.e., to eat the oath, the words pointed to the practice of eating the bread and drinking the water, used in the ritual of taking an oath. *Vide* my paper on "Oaths among the Ancient Iranians" in *Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XII, No. 2. *Vide* my *Anthropological Papers*, Part III, p. 73.

2 *Vide* my paper on "The Marriage Customs among the Parsians" (*Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 242 ff. *Vide* my "Religious Observances and Customs of the Parsians," p. 14 ff.).

(c) The Gujarati phraseology "*cheda chedi bandhva*" (છેડા ચેડી બાંધવા) i.e., to tie the skirts of clothes, suggests another way or ritual of celebrating a marriage. That way was the practice of joining the skirts of the dress of the two. When the marriage was dissolved, it was spoken of as *chutâ chedâ kârvâ* (છેડા ચેડી કાઢવા), i.e., to untie the skirts. In some communities, instead of joining the skirts, they join hands. The tying of hands (હાથો જોડવા) i.e., hand-fastening, is another form of the custom.

(d) The ceremony of the sprinkling of rice has the signification of promoting the notions of fertility. But, some take it in another light. It is that of giving food to the evil powers or influences to induce them to depart¹.

IV.

Even in these advanced times of the 20th century, we find, that for some basic thoughts, we are much indebted to antiquity. We are all children of the past. In some of our customs, we are, as it were, as savage as our human forefathers of thousands of years ago. Not only in the matter of social customs and manners, but in matters of science also, we are indebted to antiquity.

We know that Darwin's theory of Evolution had its germs in the past. Darwin had some pioneers. Edward Clodd's "*Pioneers of Evolution from Thales to Huxley (1897)*" gives us a good glimpse into the question. I have tried to show in a paper,² that there seem to be traces of

¹ Cf. The custom of throwing some food, or sprinkling some drops of wine, round about, before commencing meals. In India, people do so especially in travelling, when they take their meals in an open place. This throwing of food or drink is intended to be given to evil powers who hover round.

² "The Germ of the Evolution Theory in old Iranian Literature" (Journ. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XII, No. 8, pp. 1008-14. Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part IV, pp. 80 ff.)

the germs of Evolution in old Iranian literature.

On the subject of scientific discoveries, Mr. B. C. A. Windle¹ very properly says:—"Scientific opinion regarding any particular point is apt to waver from view to view as new facts swim into one's ken; it swings from one side to another like a pendulum and is sometimes found, after a long interval of time, to have returned to a position which, it might have been supposed, had been abandoned for ever. That such must necessarily be the case will not require much demonstration when one remembers the vast number of undiscovered facts which lie all around us and the potent and corroding effect which the discoveries of to-morrow may consequently have upon the most cherished theories of to-day"².

As pointed out by Mr. Windle, Alchemy is an instance. Alchemy has given rise to modern Chemistry, which seems again to be the basic view of Alchemy. The original basic view of Alchemy was this:—"There was, at first, a primary matter *materia prima*, a simple essence, out of which all existing substances were built." Owing to this fact, all things can be changed into others. So, lead can be turned into gold. But latterly, when the so-called different elements were discovered by, what came to be known as, Chemistry, the above view of "only one kind of basal principle" was given up. In 1661, Robert Boyle, spoken of as "the father of Chemistry", began dispelling the above view of "basal principle" by discovering new elements. But the discovery of Radium by M. and Mme. Curie again turned away this new theory of elements. The theory is this:—"Within the atoms of which all chemical elements are made up, are electrons or corpuscles and that these corpuscles may be moving units of negative electricity ensphered by

1 *Vitalism and Scholasticism*, by Bertram C. A. Windle.

2 *Ibid.* page 18.

an envelope of positive electricity¹." This theory further teaches that "the difference between the atoms of any two substances is a difference of arrangement in the ether with which they are associated".² This theory then reverts to the original theory of Alchemy which believed that one metal can be turned into another.

The same seems to be the case in the field of Astrology and Astronomy. People resort to Astrology to know the future. At one time, especially in Babylon, the movements of heavenly bodies were studied regularly. But the Babylonians believed that "the earth was a reflexion of the heavens, whose influence reaching upon its counterpart, revealed the past, present and future to those who could read the signs of stars."³ Thus Astrology arose from Astronomy. Kepler is said to have spoken of Astrology as "the foolish daughter of a wise mother".⁴

A recent writer⁵ says:—"The modern theories of the unity of matter forcing us to regard all bodies as different states of condensation of a universal substance appear to indicate that the old Alchemists in their search after the Philosopher's Stone, were not quite so far out as was imagined." There were alchemists and alchemists, as we have now doctors and doctors (quacks). It were the old alchemists that had made some good chemical discoveries. Alchemist Brand discovered phosphorus; Ramin Lull discovered nitric acid; Paracelsus discovered carbonic acid. The name of Alchemist Boetegin⁶ is associated with the furtherance of porcelain industry.

1 Vitalism and Scholasticism, by Windle, p. 15.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Vide* Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society of 1910, page 340.

4 *Vide* "Lore of all Ages".

5 *Academy* of 15th February 1913, page 197.

6 He had made himself so famous that his courtiers claimed him as their own and on this subject their kings were on the point of going to war.

THE SUPERSTITION OF CONCEALING ONE'S PROPER AGE AS SHOWN BY THE INDIAN CENSUS STATISTICS.

[A Paper under the above head was submitted to, and read before the Society, under the joint names of Mr. L. J. Sedgwick and myself. The first part of the Paper, headed "Statistical", was read by Mr. Sedgwick. It is published in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay (Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 369-385). I give here only Part II which formed the Anthropological part of the Paper and which was read by me. To enable the reader, to properly understand the arrangement, I give here the first para from Mr. Sedgwick's Statistical Part.

"It has been decided between Dr. Modi and myself that my part of the paper must be read first, since it presents those facts which he on his part will try to explain from the point of view of Anthropology. I therefore take the opportunity of mentioning how this paper originated. After hearing Dr. Modi's paper on the superstition of concealing one's name, I suggested to him the possibility of following it up with another on the superstition of concealing one's age, and offered to supply some figures showing the extent to which age is concealed in this country. I drew his attention to the remarks of Pandit Harkishan Kaul in the Punjab Census Report of 1911. The Pandit had cited a passage from the Hitopadesh giving a list of things that must be concealed, in which list age finds a place. I suggested to Dr. Modi that perhaps research might lead to other evidence of a magic or superstition basis for the concealment. Dr. Modi accepted the suggestion with the result which the Society will hear to-day. I now proceed to my part of the paper."

Mr. Sedgwick having explained the origin of this paper, and having exhibited the inexactitude of the Indian age returns, I now proceed to examine the causes, superstitions or otherwise, which induce people of the various classes to conceal their ages. In the Census Report of 1911 of Punjab referred to above by Pandit Harkishan Kaul (Chap. V Age, p. 197), we read: "A certain number of people would not or could not tell their age. In such cases, the enumerator was requested to make his own estimate. Nevertheless several omissions were found. No statistics compiled at an Indian Census are probably more removed from the actual facts than those of age."

The causes of the inexactitude referred to by Pandit Harkishan Kaul seem to be correct. We may divide the causes into two classes:

- I. Undeliberate misstatements which is the result of illiteracy and consequent ignorance of one's proper age.
- II. Deliberate or intentional misstatement.

The latter may again be divided into those resulting from—I. Superstition. II. Vanity. III. Self-interest or some purpose.

I think that of the four causes, the first, *viz.*, ignorance of one's proper age, is the principal cause. In a country like India, where the proportion of illiterate to the literate is very great, we have no reason to be surprised at this ignorance among the masses about their correct age. Among the Parsee community, the proportion of the illiterates to the literates is small and I have observed, that there is the above ignorance among these few illiterates. In my work as a Census Volunteer in 1901, I have found some ignorance in my own people. Again, my view as a Census Volunteer has been

confirmed by my experience as the Secretary of the Parsee Punchayet. When the poor of my community apply to the Trustees of the Punchayet for various kinds of help, one of the particulars in our inquiry forms to be filled up by the applicants, is that of age, and I have occasionally found, that age is not correctly reported, owing to ignorance, and a little examination and cross-examination are required to determine the proper age of some illiterate persons. When pressed for a correct statement, they say "અવળી નથી", i.e., "We have no horoscopes." If this is the case for the Parsee community among whom the proportion of the literates to the illiterates is high, it must be so in the case of a large part of those other sister communities among whom the proportion of the literates to illiterates is comparatively low. So, I think, that a Census officer in India may generally take it, that in the Census forms of persons marked as illiterate, the age figures are mostly not correct and that that is the result, more of ignorance, than of any deliberate concealment.

Now, we come to the second cause of the incorrectness of the age statistics of the Census, viz.,
 2. Deliberate misstatement: (a) deliberate misstatement. As said above, Out of superstition. the misstatement may be the result of (a) superstition, or (b) vanity, or (c) self-interest.

We will first speak of concealment out of superstition, which is the subject proper of my part of the paper as put above in the title of the paper.

In this case of concealment through superstition, there are cases of concealment in both directions, i.e., understating the age or over-stating it. This superstition is held mostly by the literates. The illiterates as a class are innocent of this superstition, because mostly, they do not know their age. One kind of superstition or rather a kind of thought

arising from a superstitious belief, leads one to overstate his age and another kind of superstition leads another to understate it. If a child is very healthy and robust for its age, the mother will try to pass it for an age greater than its true age. Suppose, a child of 3 or 4 is healthy, and, therefore, so well-grown up, as to look to be a child of 5 or 6. Then, if one admires the child for that healthiness or growth at that age, the mother will like to overstate the age, and say that it is aged 5 or 6; so that the evil eye of the admirer may not be drawn to, or may be averted from, the child. If an admirer were to say "Ah, what a well-grown up body for a child of 3 or 4!" she would not like it. Such an admiration, it is believed, will influence for bad the health and growth of the child. It may fall ill and be reduced in looks or may even die. So, we occasionally see, even now, healthy children marked on the temples of their heads with black spots. These black spots may diminish a little of the beauty or the healthy appearance of the child and thus may avert the evil influence of an evil eye. Again, that black spot may draw away the eye or attention of the observer to itself and prevent its being directed to, or stayed on, the face of the child.

As to the concealment of age among adults, there is a proverb among the Hindus of Gujarat saying: વય અને ઋણ જાહેર નહીં, i.e., "Our age and wealth should not be told to anybody." A Parsee friend at Bulsar, conversation with whom I have always found interesting, on account of his great knowledge of folklore, thus explains the reason for this proverb: વયની ઉંમર તથા ઋણ કેટલાં સામાન્ય સ્થાનો મનમાં અજાણ્યાં આવે તે કદાચ આજે તે સુધારાનીય આવે પણ એના વહેમ-નીતીથી એ કેવલ આવે છે, i.e., "This proverb is prevalent on account of the superstition that, if we tell our age and our wealth, the man opposite (to whom we tell

these) may get jealous of us and curse us, and that may do us harm.'"

The above-mentioned Gujarati proverb "વરસ અને ગરસ કહીને કેહવા નહિ," i.e., "not to tell one's age and wealth to any body" reminds us of what is said in the Hitopadesha as pointed out by Pandit Harkishan Kaul. The old book of morals says: "Age, wealth, theft in one's house, counsel, sexual intercourse, medicine, austerity, charity, and disgrace, these nine must be carefully concealed" (Hitopadesha I. 143). The *varas* and *garath* (age and wealth) of the modern Gujarati proverb are the *ayurvittam* of the Hitopadesha.¹

A friend at Naosari, in reply to my inquiry about the superstition in that part of the country, writes: "હીંદુઓને ઉમર પુછવી તે તેજુ' મોત પુછવા બરાબર છે, i.e., "to ask a Hindu about his age is equal to asking for his death." He then adds: રખેને આયુષ તોકાય કરીને પેહેલાં તો ઉમર પુછાવી નથી; અને જણાવતું પડે તો જરૂર પાંચ વર્ષ' બોલાઈ જણાવે...ઉમર લાખી કેહવાથી ભણે મરવાના ટકાડાની ગણતરી થતી હોય તેમ માને છે, i.e., "Firstly one cannot ask another's age, lest he may be suspected of envying his age. (If it is asked) and if he has to say, he always announces it (age) to be less by about 5 years.

1 This book was translated in the time of Noshirwan the Just (Chosroes I) into Pahlavi and then it was translated into Arabic and then into Persian. Its latest Persian form is that observed in the Persian Anwar-i Sohili, so named by its author, Mulla Hussain, after the name of his patron, Amir Suhaili, the generalissimo of Shah Sultan Hussain of Khurasan. *Vide* the Persian author's Preface in Wollaston's Translation of Anwar-i-Sohili. *Vide* "Calila et Damna ou Fables de Bidpai en Arabe: précédées d'un Memoire sur l'origine de ce Livre, et sur les diverses Traductions qui en ont été faites dans l'Orient," par M. Silvestre de Sacy (1816). *Vide* the Preface of Hitopadesha by Narayana, edited by Prof. P. Palvica (1887).

They believe that to give one's (correct) age is, as it were, counting the day of one's death."

The cause of the superstition seems to be an aversion
 Aversion against calculation or num- against any kind of calculation, or ascer-
 bers. tainment of numbers or figures about
 one's self. The superstition is not only
 against calculating one's number of years or age, but
 against calculating in other respects also. A Parsee
 mother of the old type, if she will observe you count
 ing her number of children, would at once say, "દાર
 ૫૫ દરક હી નહિં જોતા," i.e., "Why dost thou not look to thy
 feet." This is a frequent utterance. But at times she would
 say, દાર જોડા (૫૫ પાસડા) દરક હી નહિં જોતા? i.e., "Instead of look-
 ing to and counting my children why dost thou not look to
 thy shoes?" Looking down at the feet or at the shoes¹ is be-
 lieved to have the effect of averting the evil of an evil eye.
 Counting or numbering, not only one's children, but other
 valuable possessions, would cause such a remark to be
 uttered. You must not count the number of one's cattle
 or horses or houses or his money. The counting of
 things by a man was believed to have been done with an evil
 eye or envy, and such evil eye or envy was believed to
 result in the decrease of the things numbered. So, if you
 count one's children or horses or houses or his years of age,
 you lead to the diminution of that number. Some of the
 children or horses or cattle may die. Houses may be des-
 troyed or have to be sold off. In the case of one's age or
 number of years, they also may be lessened. The person
 may fall ill and die earlier.

1 Of the English custom of throwing old shoes upon a married
 couple. This seems to be intended to avert an evil eye from their
 present happy condition.

This superstition against numbering or counting seems

Old Jewish objection against counting the number of population or against census.

to be confined not only to India and not only to modern times. We find that it was prevalent among the ancient Hebrews and they objected to a census being taken. They had as a rule a general

superstitious belief against counting the number of population. We learn from Samuel (II Samuel XXIV), that when David ordered Joab to number the people, he was believed to have been influenced and tempted by Satan. Joab was ordered to travel for that purpose and to go from Dan to Beersheba and to count the number of people in the different tribes of Israel.¹ Joab tried to dissuade David but to no purpose. He said: "The Lord made His people an hundred times so many more as they be; but my lord the king, are they not all my lord's servants? Why then doth my lord require this thing? Why will he be a cause of trespass to Israel?" (I Chronicles XXI 3). Joab had to obey. He took nine months and twenty days to go from Dan to Beersheba and to count all the people. The result of this Census was that "God was displeased with this thing; therefore He smote Israel." (*Ibid.* 7.)

David repented, but it was too late. He was asked to prefer any of these three punishments: (1) Three years, famine, (2) Defeat at the hands of the enemy and flight for three months, (3) Three days' pestilence. Any one of these three had, for its object, the destruction or diminution of the number of the people, who were counted in all as 57,00,000. David preferred the last punishment, *via.*, the pestilence; and the result was, that within three days 70,000 people died. What is at the bottom of this story

1 The Chronicles (I Chronicle XXI) also refers to this subject, but says that the journey was from Beersheba to Dan.

in the Bible is, "Do not count." If you do count and the number is great, the joy of that will soon be upset by a disaster. The fact that the work of 'census' was taken to be an odious work by the ancient Hebrews accounts for the meaning of the word "censure" which came from the same root. It accounts also for the odium attached to the word "censor" who literally is a kind of census officer.

It is said that as late as 1753 A.C., when a Bill was introduced in the Parliament to regulate the work of Census, a member of the House of Commons objected, saying that "his constituents looked on the proposal as ominous, and feared lest some public misfortune or an epidemical distemper should follow the *numbering*." Here then we see the old superstition against *numbering*. In the Gujarati saying, એ વીચારાની દસા ગણતર ચુકા, i.e., "This poor fellow's days are *numbered* or counted", and the corresponding English words, "His days are *numbered*", seem to have been at the bottom of this old superstition against counting or numbering things.

Perhaps, it was to kill the odium attached to the work of Counting the census, to the work of counting the number of people among the Romans, which was believed to be drawing God's curse, that the ancient Romans connected the work with a kind of religious function. They had among them a ceremony known as Lustration which was held every five years. It was the ceremony of a general sacred bath, a kind of *Snān* of the Hindus, the *Nān* of the Parsees. The city met for the holy purpose of a sacred ceremonial bath and was counted during the process. So, the efficacy of the ceremony killed, as it were, the odium or the curse of the process of counting.

The reason at the bottom of the concealment of numbers, whether of people, children, cattle,

The reason for concealment.

Or of age, out of superstition is, what is generally known as, *બુરી નજર*, i.e., evil eye.

The train of thought is as follows: If you are old, say 70, and look very healthy and robust for that old age, and if one ask you your age and you tell it correctly, you draw his evil eye upon you. He would think to himself: "Oh, how healthy and robust he looks at this old age!" That thought is the result of an evil eye, and so, in consequence, you will suffer; you will fall ill; so, such frequent questions will bring about illness and consequently an early death. *કેઈની બત્રીસીએ નહીં ચડવું* is a Gujarati proverb, which is connected with the belief in an evil eye. *Batrisi* (lit. thirty-two) is a word for the set of 32 teeth. So, the above proverb means, "Not to rise to the sets of the 32 teeth of others", i.e., not to be talked about by others. It is believed, that if one lets himself to be talked about much by others for his health, rank, position, even for his charity and virtue, he courts, as it were, their evil eyes, or in our ordinary words, "envy" upon him. In order to avoid or avert such an evil eye or envy, one must conceal a little the true state of affairs.

It is said of a Parsee Desai of Naosari, that from this point of view, he said: "મને તે બત્રીસ યા કરાવે પણ જમની બત્રીસીએ ના ચડાવતો", i.e., "Give me, if you like 32 wounds, but do not raise me to the set of 32 teeth of other people." Another word which we often hear in connection with such a superstitious belief is *તોડવું* or *તોડવું* (*tokvun* or *tokavun*). It is, as it were, a particular or technical word in the sense of "to envy" or "to be envied." If the wealth of a man, who has recently got rich is much talked about and he loses his wealth, we hear, at times, people sympathising with his fate, and saying, *બીજાની ડીકા પછી તોડવું*, i.e., "The

poor fellow's wealth was much talked about" (lit. weighed and envied). Thus, too much talk of one's good fortune or good health, strength or wealth, rank or position, or good old age are believed to draw others' evil eye and envy and to lead to diminution in all these. It is said of Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander, that one after another, he heard three good news about himself. He thought that if these three good tidings will be talked about much, that will draw some evil eye or envy upon him. So, he prayed to God to be saved from this envy.

The evil eye, the belief in which leads to concealment,

Evil eye. need not necessarily be present, i.e., there
 need not always be present a person or

persons to cast an evil eye. The evil eye is present, as it were, in the air. It exerts its influence, not only in the case of the concealment of age or wealth, but in various ways. The evil eye may be of malignant spirits hovering in the air. I remember, that in my days of childhood, when I went out with my mother or aunts on a picnic and we sat in the open air for our meals, my mother and aunts, before commencing eating, threw small pieces of bread round about, to avert the influence of evil eyes. They would not like a poor passer-by stopping on his way and looking at our meals. They would immediately give him a pice or so or a piece of bread and ask him to go away. For further safety, whether any poor persom may be passing by or not, they threw pieces of bread, etc., round about for the satisfaction of evil eyes hovering about. If they were to drink, say toddy or say whisky and soda, they would dip their fingers in their glasses and sprinkle the drops adhering to the fingers round about. The idea is, that you are in a position to have good meals, but there are others round about who are not in a position to have these for themselves. So, they would cast an evil eye or an eye of envy upon your good

fortune. Do what you can, therefore, to avert that evil eye. In the case of age, especially old age, the concealment of the correct age is one of the means to avert the evil eye from you. The influence of the evil eye is spoken among the Gujarati speaking people and, among them, among the Parsees as *chashm-i-bad*, i.e., to be struck with an (evil) eye. The Mahomedans speak of it as *chashm-i-bad* (چشم بد). In the Bible, in St. Mark (VII, 20-22), where there is a mention of things that enter a man from without and defile him, and of things, "which cometh out of the man that defileth the man," an evil eye is mentioned as belonging to the latter class. We find that from the above idea of an "evil eye" in the sense of "envy," even the word "eye" without the word "evil" is used for envy. We read in I Samuel, XVIII, 9, "And Saul eyed David from that day and forward." What is meant is, that he had an evil eye of envy. In the Proverbs (XXIII, 6) it is said: "Eat not the bread of him that has an evil eye, neither desire thou his dainty meats."

A number of people, both male and female, understate their age through a kind of vanity. It is especially the case with females of all classes and creeds. Women generally desire to be considered younger than they are. Unmarried women have, in addition to this feminine weakness, the cause of self-interest, viz., that of a better demand in marriage. They wish to avoid being put in the class of old maids. It is generally considered uncourteous or unmanly to ask a lady her age. The above seems to be the cause. She wishes to be considered younger, and so, by asking her her age, you put her to the inconvenience of stating an untruth. In English law, it is enjoined that one giving an incorrect age in the Census forms may be fined up to £5. It is said of a lady, that, when yielding to

(b) Concealment through vanity.

the above feminine weakness, she gave incorrect age, she, as a penance or penalty for acting against her conscience, sent, through a public newspaper, of course anonymously, the fine of £5 and spent an additional sum of half a crown for an advertisement in the paper announcing the payment. It is said, that in England, in the Census of 1881, a certain number of women were enumerated as having the age of 25. In 1891, at the next census, one may naturally expect at least, the return of the same number for the age of 25. But no, the number had much fallen showing that the fashion or weakness of deliberately concealing the age among women had grown. Many women like to be considered of an age of, or under, 25, that being generally considered as the marriageable age.

Besides concealment for vanity, there is, at times, concealment for self-interest and that occurs in various directions. Firstly, as we have just spoken of marriage, I will speak of concealment in the case of marriages by widowers.

(c) Concealment of age for self-interest. Case of widowers.

In India, where there is a restriction of widow marriages among some classes, the tendency on the part of parents of young girls of a tender age, is at times, to overstate instead of understate the age of their daughters. Widowers, being prohibited to marry widows, have to resort to young brides. In such cases, the tendency on both sides is to misstate their ages. The widower has, in order to tempt the consent of the bride or her parent, to understate his age, and the bride's parents, in order to save themselves the stigma of giving or rather selling, their young tender daughters to rich widowers, have to overstate her age. The earlier the widowers re-marry, the better is held to be their reputation as good husbands. I remember a late Mehtaji of my office asking for leave of absence to

attend to his sick wife in a mofussil town. The wife died and he extended his leave on her death for a few days more. Again, a few days after, he asked for a further extension in order to be married before he returned to duty. It is said that, at times, of course very rare, arrangements of another marriage are made at the very *Masàn kàntha*, i.e., the burning grounds. In such a state of affairs, it is no wonder if there be some cases of hasty marriages after the death of one's wife, and, consequently, there be a tendency from the above causes to overstate or understate age on both the sides. My own Parsee community has not been free from some cases of this kind. Such cases, though few and far between, were more heard about 40 or 50 years ago than now

Marriages were arranged by match-makers and love marriages were few. So, widowers, in order to secure younger women for their second marriages, concealed their age. I have even heard of stray cases having occurred in the last century, not only of concealment of age, but of a kind of concealment of persons. The match-makers, when they brought about the matches, showed to the widowers and to the widows, their prospective wives or husbands from a distance. There were no regular occasions for the parties to meet, much less to converse. So, it is said, that intriguing match-makers, at times, showed wrong persons to the parties. They showed younger widowers to the widows intending second marriages, and older widows to the intending widowers.

Where such worldly motives led to a concealment of age, it is no wonder if such concealment occurred in our Indian Censuses. I will not dwell at length on other cases of concealment resorted to for self-interest. This concealment is practised for various reasons. Again, the concealment

is in both directions. Some understate their age. Some overstate their age. One and the same person does both the things. At times, they overstate their age and at times they understate their age. It is to the interest of a person to conceal his true age and understate it when he has to insure his life. It is to the interest of a student to overstate his age if there is a restriction of a certain age before which he cannot go in for his examination, or to understate it if there is a restriction of age after which he cannot be employed in some office or for some work, wherein he seeks some kind of employment. A lady thinks it good for her general interest to conceal her age and understate it to appear as young, but the same lady, when seeking employment, will like to overstate her age if there is a restriction of age under which no employment can be given.

THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED ASH-MOUNDS IN THE RAICHUR DISTRICT.

I

The Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions for 1927-28 A.C. (1337 Fasli), published in Introduction, the end of 1930, contains four letters from Mr. Munn dated 24th April 1928, 4th, 9th and 20th May 1929 relating to some ash mounds found in the district of Raichur².

The letters form Appendix C of the Report (pp. 25-27) and refer to some "prehistoric graves of the iron age people who occupied the same site" (p. 27). In his third letter, dated "Lingsugur, 20th May 1929" Mr. Munn speaks of a "big ash-mound between Gaudur and Machnur (15 miles north-east of Lingsugur)" and says:—"This ash-mound has always been an enigma in itself but now the ash (?) is found in circles associated with prehistoric graves the enigma is doubled". Mr. Munn then adds:—"I examined the heap thoroughly. Owing to constant excava-

1 This paper was read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 1st April 1931 and printed in Journal Vol. XIV, No. 7, pp. 843-853.

2 The paper was, when read, based on a full report of the discoveries given in the *Times of India* of 23rd January 1931. No copy of the original report of the Archaeological Department was available at the time. I beg to thank Mr. G. Yardani, the Director of Archaeology of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, for kindly sending me a copy which arrived a day after the date of the paper. So, the references in the Introduction are changed a little.

tion by villagers who grind and mix the material with common red earth to plaster their houses, it is somewhat reduced in size since I last saw it, when I estimated it at 175,000 cubic feet; but it still stands out at its southern end like a cliff" (*ibid.* p. 27). It appears from what Mr Munn says, that Mr. Bruce Foote had discovered in Bellary a "cinder mound", but it "yielded no bones". But in the above mound discovered by Mr. Munn a good number of typical bones were excavated by the villagers.¹

Mr. Munn then, saying that the ash-mound is "connected with prehistoric sepulture", adds:—"In fact I come back more puzzled with its origin than ever," and expresses his disagreement with Mr. Bruce Foote's suggestion that "the ash-mound was a relic of a heap of smouldering cow-dung".² Mr. Munn, in another letter, again refers to "the ash or cinder-mounds" found in the Bellary and Raichur districts and says that "they always puzzled archæologists".

As said by Mr. Munn, there are three theories about the mounds:—

- (a) The native tale explained these heaps by a story about the burning of "Rakshasas".
- (b) Mr. Bruce Foote "after reading Sir Henry Stanley's 'Darkest Africa' at last suggested a huge conflagration of dried cow-dung".
- (c) Some seem to have suggested that they had something "to do with the ancient gold mining industry".

My view is, that they are mounds of some remains of

1 Mr. Yandani says in a footnote, that the Director, Zoological Survey, Government of India, reported that the bones "are not human but are big bones of cattle" (p. 27 n.)

2 *Ibid.* p. 23.

the dead. The fact of the existence of similar mounds in Persia, Babylon, Turkistan, and the frontiers of India, etc., which are associated with the remains of the dead, supports this view. The object of this paper is to submit this view, which, I think, explains what is called 'enigma' and will, I hope, free our friends the archæologists of the Southern Presidency from their "puzzle".

II

The true explanation of the "puzzling discovery"

(a) Similar mounds in Azarbaizan. seems, in my opinion, to be this: I have seen similar mounds in Azarbaizan in

Persia during my travels, *via* Russia in Persia in 1925. They are known there as Gaur-Tappas (*vide* my paper "The Gaur-Tappas or Mounds of Bone-receptacles in Persia" in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIV, No. 3, pp. 400-420, see pp. 17-37 *ante*). The one at Degalah, near the city of Urumiah, as measured by Prof. Jackson of the Columbia University of New York, is "three or four hundred yards long, nearly as many broad and a hundred feet or more in height, but its dimensions are constantly being reduced." It took me 17 minutes to walk, at moderate pace, round its base. Prof. Jackson speaks of them as "ash hills." (a) Prof. Jackson assumed that these elevations were surmounted by sanctuaries dedicated to the worship of fire (Persia: Past and Present, pp. 91-93). (b) According to him, the natives of Azarbaizan took the mounds to be "the vast accumulation of ashes" due "to the accretion from the fire-temples, the ashes having been scattered over the hill age after age." (c) Ker Porter thought that probably these mounds in Persia were "Mithraic high places". Thus, he took them to be places etc. of Zoroastrian worship (Travels in Georgia, Persia, etc., Vol. II, pp. 606-7). Mrs. Bishop, seeing a

mound of this kind in Persia, took it to be the ruins of a Fire-temple (Journeys in Persia, etc., Vol. II, p. 197).

III

Similar mounds are found at Babylon. During my visit of Babylon, from Bagdad, in 1925, (b) Similar mounds at Babylon. I saw one or two mounds of that kind, from a distance, but had not the opportunity to examine them carefully. Ker Porter speaks of them as "certain huge and rugged masses" and as "piles" and "pre-eminent mounds". He speaks of one mound as "one of the most gigantic masses of brick-formed earth, that ever was raised by the labour of man". It was in the form of "an oblong..... facing the four cardinal points." The side to the north measured 552 ft., that to the south 230 ft., that to the east 230 ft., and that to the west 551 ft. It contained "interned remains". (a) Ker Porter took it to be a "Fortified Palace". (b) Pietro della Valle (1586-1652) and Abbe Beauchamp who saw the mounds in 1782 thought that they were the remains of the temple of Bellus, dedicated by Nebuchadnezzar to the great central worship of his favourable deity. (c) Ker Porter also says that some thought the great mound to be "a place of a sepulchre".

Such mounds are referred to in the most recent reports of the travels of Sir Aurel Stein, (c) Similar mounds in Waziristan and Baluchistan. that indefatigable scholar-traveller of Central Asia, as given in his account of "An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan" (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India (1929), No. 37). In the second chapter of his report, headed "Prehistoric Remains in Zhôb" (sec. 1, p. 33-34), he refers to the mound of Periano-ghundai, which was first discovered in 1898

by Dr. Noetting and described by him in his letter to the President of the Anthropological Society of Berlin. The length of the mound is 500 yards, width 350 yards, height 70 ft. "The whole of this great mound is composed of accumulations of clay and rough stones from decayed dwellings and permeated by layers containing ashes, bones and decomposed refuse" (p. 33). "Cinerary pots" or "pots with human bones" were found in this mound. Sir Aurel Stein concludes: "The remains of the dead after burning were gathered in earthen vessels and a resting place for them provided within the walls of the dwellings or in close proximity to them" (p. 41.) He adds: "The resemblance of the motifs used in the painted pottery to that from culture strata ascribed to pre-Sumerian times at Mesopotamian sites and hence approximately dateable is very striking indeed. Even closer perhaps are the links between the painted pottery of Pəriāno-ghundai and that which covers wind-eroded prehistoric sites in the south of Sistān." (p. 41). He describes some other mounds south-west of Fort Sandeman. He thought that they probably "marked a cemetery of some kind" (p. 43). He found "a large earthenware vessel.....the inside was full of human bone fragments, largely calcined, including fingers, small pieces of the skull, etc., as well as ashes" (p. 45). Besides such mounds Sir Aurel has found several "burial deposits with cairns.....strewing the stony slopes at the foot of the hill side above the mound" (p. 46).

Dr. Pumpelly, in his "Explorations in Turkestan", refers to similar mounds in Turkestan. (d) Some mounds of Turkestan, probably similar. He thinks them to be the ruins of old cities, but he does not seem to have excavated them. However, I think that they also may be mounds connected with some custom of the sepulchre of the dead.

It seems that similar mounds, or something like them, existed in ancient Greece. The ancient Greeks practised cremation like the Indians. After burning the bodies, they collected the unburnt bones, ashes, etc., and buried them and erected "barrows of earth or stones" upon them. The ancient Teutons, the ancestors of the Germans, did the same.

IV

We see from what is said above, that mounds of the kind recently discovered in the Raichur district in Southern India are found in many parts of Western and Central Asia and also on the North-western frontiers of India. As to what these mounds are for, various theories are suggested. We have seen some of these above. The mounds in Southern India are said to have "puzzled archæologists". I beg to submit that the puzzle is solved when we say, that we find in the whole of Asia, from Babylon in the West to Japan in the East, a method or a process of the disposal of the dead, which we may call "the double method" or "the double process." In my view, they are not connected in any way either with religious sanctuaries for worship or with residential or fortified palaces, but they are, as suggested by Ker Porter, in representing another's view, places associated with the dead, places of "sepulchre".

The known forms of the disposal of the dead are :

1. Cremation.
2. Ground-burial.
3. Water-burial.
4. Exposure to the sun and to flesh-devouring animals.
5. Mummifying or embalming the body.

6. **Patrophagie**, i.e. eating the bodies of one's parents—a kind of cannibalism. The ancient Tibetans are said to have, at one time, resorted to it in some cases. They believed that the best method for the disposal of the dead bodies of their dear parents was to eat them. They loved them so much that they considered it a pious filial duty to bury them in their own stomachs (Bod-Goul ou Tibet by M. L. De Milloué, p. 66).

Out of these six various methods, in the case of two—(a) cremation and (b) exposure—there was a double process. The body was, at first, burnt or exposed and then, after the flesh was burnt or eaten off, the remaining unburnt or uneaten bones were collected in ossuaries or bone-receptacles and these ossuaries were then buried under-ground. (*Vide* my paper "Astodan or a Persian coffin, said to be 3,000 years old, sent to the Museum of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, by Mr. Malcolm of Bushire." *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I. *Vide* the paper on "The Ossuaries and Astodans of Turkestan" by Mr. Enostranzev of Russia. *Ibid.* p. 300.) Well-to-do families had separate vaults for preserving the bone or ash receptacles but the generality of people had a common place. The Gaur-Tappas of Persia, the mounds of Babylon, the mounds discovered by Sir Aurel Stein on our N.-W. frontiers, the mounds of Turkestan discovered by Dr. Pampelly and referred to by Mr. Enostranzev, they all are connected with the above "double method" of the disposal of the dead. In the case of the generality of people, the receptacles when deposited one over another, formed, after a time, huge mounds. This accounts for pottery and stone and bones and ashes, all being found in a heap. The recently discovered mound of the Raichur district seems to be a similar mound associated with the above double method of disposal.

The most conspicuous illustration of this double process, was found by me in 1923 in Japan, where you find two places for the disposal of the dead. The first place is a crematorium or burning place. The process of burning is somewhat different, both from our Indian Hindu custom and from the new crematorium system of the West, though somewhat akin to it. After burning the bodies, the relatives take away, the next day, relics of bones. They then place these relics in small boxes or jars and then carry the boxes to another place which can properly be called a cemetery. Every family has built therein a vault wherein they put the jars in the vault. The vault has a small opening or door about two feet square which is kept locked, the key of the lock being taken away by the family. On a death next occurring in the family, the jar or the box of the next deceased is similarly placed in the family vault. I saw in Kobe a very grand beautiful cemetery with all kinds of beautiful architectural vaults. The cemetery would, from an architectural and æsthetic point of view, do credit to any great city. The bones of the generality of poor people are deposited in a place adjoining the crematorium. It is, as it were, an ossuary for the common people.

Now, in the present progressive crematoriums of the West also, we see this "double process". I saw a crematorium of that kind in Paris in 1925. There also, the relics of bones or ashes are collected and deposited in small jars or boxes. There, instead of vaults in the ground, there are small closed niches in the walls of an adjoining fine large building and the boxes are placed therein. These walls remind us of the walls referred to above by Sir A. Stein. The parties are charged fees for the space occupied here, as

in Japan. In some parts of old Iran, some underground vaults are still found. In the case of the process of exposure to the sun and flesh-eating animals also, there is a double process. The ancient Persians observed it completely. According to Justin, as observed by Dr. Geiger, this double process was prevalent among the Parthians. Numbers of ossuaries or bone receptacles, spoken of as *astodāns* in Parsee books, are found in various parts of Persia. Our Prince of Wales Museum has some specimens. After my return from Persia, where I had arranged to have one such *astodān* excavated at Bushire and sent to me, I had the pleasure of presenting it to this Museum, where it was opened, on 4th August 1926, before an assembly gathered for my lecture, on Gaur-tappas referred to above. Dr. Y. G. Nadgir, Professor of Anatomy at our Grant Medical College, has kindly submitted a report on the bones in the jar (*vide* Jour. Anthropol. Society of Bombay, Vol. XIV, pp. 418-20). Sir John Malcolm, one of our past distinguished Governors, is said to have brought one with him from Persia. Sir A. Wilson, in his lecture on the Persian Gulf, refers to the mounds formed by such ossuaries (Jour. Geographical Society of March 1927). Herodotus, Strabo and Justin, while speaking of the ancient Persians, refer to this double process.

Our Hindu brethren, when they collect the burnt ashes and throw that in the sea or a sacred river, resort to a kind of this double process, though that process is not on all fours with the above-narrated process of preserving the relics in bone receptacles. But some people resort to this process in one way. Some of the Chotens of the Tibetans are said to contain such relics.

This double process of burying funeral urns was prevalent in various countries. It was prevalent in Burma (*vide* Report of the Archaeological Department of

Burma of 1919-20, p. 14). There was cremation in ancient Greece as in India. As said above, the Greeks after cremation buried the bones and even erected "barrows of earth or stones" upon them. The ancient Teutons did the same. ("The Heroic Age of India" by N. Sidhanta, p. 214.)

The above double process—cremation and then burial of
 This double process in ancient India. relics—seems to have been prevalent in ancient India, even in India of the Vedic times. It then continued in the times of the Buddhists and the Jains. Mr. Havel in his "Hand-book of Indian Art" refers to an earliest known Indo-Aryan monument and says that its connection with the Aryan tradition of pre-Buddhist India can be traced both in the Vedic funeral ritual and in the structureitself".¹ From the thoughts presented by the relics of some monuments in South India, Prof. G. Jouneau-Dubreuil presents the same view.²

From the Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum (New Series, General Section, Volume II, Part I, 1930), wherein we read an account of some recently discovered skulls, we learn that there prevailed in Southern India during Pandya times, that is, at least several centuries before the beginning of the Christian era, the "custom of preserving human bones in earthenware urns which were buried in the ground" (p. 1).

V

Now, what is the origin and object of this custom of preserving the bones, or ashes etc. by the double process? The custom seems to have been associated with the idea of the con-

* The origin or object of the custom.

1 "Hand-book of Indian Art" (1930), p. 14.

2 "Vedic Antiquities", 1922.

tinuity of the soul. We see that idea illustrated in the mummies of Egypt and in the great pyramids and tombs covering them. It was believed that, as long as the body of the deceased, or something connected with it, was safe, the soul of that body was safe or at ease. Among the ancient Persians, this custom was connected with the belief of resurrection. The rise of the dead at the resurrection required the preservation of bones.¹

¹ *Vide* my paper on the Astodans, referred to above.

THE HINDU CUSTOM OF SETTING UP A KALASA (WATER-POT) IN THE NAME OF A DECEASED AND THE PARSEE CUSTOM OF SETTING UP A KALASYO (કલસ્યો): A FEW THOUGHTS SUGGESTED BY THE CUSTOM.¹

Mr. R. E. Enthoven, one of the esteemed ex-Presidents of our Bombay Anthropological Society, has given us, in the last issue of our Introduction. Journal, an interesting paper, entitled "Tribes and Castes of Mysore"², taking a brief review of „The Mysore Tribes and Castes", Volume II, by the late H. V. Nanjundayya, M.A., and Rao Bahadur L. R. Ananth Krishna Iyer, B.A. (1928). It is this paper which has suggested to me the subject of this brief paper.

Mr. Enthoven's very first introductory remarks suggest to me a few autobiographical words as introduction. He says: "There are probably not many members of the Bombay Anthropological Society who will recall, after this interval of time, the census of 1901, so ably conducted by the late Sir Herbert Risley, the distinguished compiler of 'Tribes and Castes of Bengal' and the author of 'The People of India'." Thanks to God, I am one of the "not many members" who can recall the Census of 1901, when Sir Herbert Risley, one of our distinguished past Presidents,

1 This paper was read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on the 17th April 1931 (Journal Vol. XIV, No. 7, pp 857-870).

2 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIV, No. 5, pp. 637 &.

was the Census Commissioner of the whole of India, when Mr. R. E. Enthoven, another of our distinguished past Presidents, was the head Census Officer of the whole of the Bombay Presidency, and when the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes, another of our distinguished past Presidents, was the Chief Census Officer of our City of Bombay. In that great Census,—I call it great, because in the matter of suggesting further studies about this great country, it was really great,—I had offered my humble services as a Volunteer and was deputed to work as an Honorary Assistant Superintendent in my dear district of Colaba. I had taken my first lessons, as it were of volunteering, as a Plague Volunteer in the early years of Plague (1897-99). That Plague Volunteer work had given me a little insight into the household life of our people. I remember well my early morning cycle rides for plague inspection in my Colaba Ward, commencing from the Grant buildings at Lower Colaba to the utmost Colaba point where stands the cemetery. I have a good recollection of my work in the Census of 1901, referred to by Mr. Enthoven. I had my busy work, during the day, as the Secretary of the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay. But still, I spared my mornings for a few days to attend to the Census work, and I remember, with pleasure, my cycle-rides on the occasion in my district of Colaba, and especially the midnight moonlight cycling on the Census night at Lower Colaba. I remember with pleasure, what little I learnt during this Census work and the preceding plague work. It created in my mind some further interest about Cultural Anthropology. It was that interest that had led me to deliver a lecture¹ on Census in Gujarati before my Gujarati Dnyān Prasarak Mandli (The Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge), of which I

1 The lecture was entitled "સેન્સસ અને વસ્તીની ગણતરી". Vide my Gujarati "Dnyān Prasarak Essays," Part IV, pp. 19-44.

have the pleasure and honour to be the President for these last 18 years. It was the spirit of volunteering, thus acquired, that led me, when the last Great War was declared, to place, at the disposal of Mr. Edwardes, the then Police Commissioner, in response to his appeal, the services, as special Police Constables, of my two youngest sons, then mere boys, and to offer my own services in the mornings and evenings, for any purpose other than that of policing. It was the interest thus created, not only by Census matters, but other matters, generally anthropological, that had then led me, latterly, to study Risley's great work, entitled "The People of India." I take this opportunity to hand over to our Hon. Secretary, the results of that study, a paper on "A Summary of Risley's 'People of India'," in the hope, that, when published in our Journal, it may help, at least, the students of Anthropology, being the summary of the learned work of a great Anthropologist, not only of India, but of international repute.

Mr. Enthoven's paper speaks of the Tribes and Caste of Mysore. Therein, the custom which has suggested to me the subject of my paper, is said to be observed by the Agasa tribe in the Mysore district. But I do not think it is confined to that district. It seems to be prevalent elsewhere also. The custom, which is referred to by Mr. Enthoven, as one of the matters of great importance that may interest students of folk-lore, is this:—

"The ghost of the deceased wife is believed often to torment or trouble her successor. If the latter is unable to suckle her new born babe, or gets hysterical or otherwise ill, the first wife is then propitiated by setting up a *kalasa* (water-pot) in her name and making *pūja* to it

and also by offering a new cloth which the second wife afterward wears."¹

We find the following observances and belief in this custom:—

- (1) The setting up of a *kalasa* (water-pot) in honour of the dead.
- (2) The setting up is spoken of, as being done *in the name* of a deceased.
- (3) A *pūja*, i.e., bowing or homage, is done to that water-pot.
- (4) The setting up of the water-pot is accompanied with the offering of a new cloth.
- (5) The ceremony is observed with a view to please the spirit of a deceased person.

This custom of "setting up a *kalasa*" strikes me as interesting from a Parsee point of view

1. The setting up of a *kalasa*. It seems to have a parallel, to some extent, though not on all fours, among the Parsees. The *kalasa* is spoken of as *kalasio* or *karasyô* (કલસી, કરસી) among them. It is a small water-pot and is an useful vessel for household use. Just as the *kulasa* plays an important part in one of the Indian ceremonies of the dead, the *kalasyo* plays an important part, a well-nigh similar important part, in a Parsee ceremony in honour of the dead. The Indian custom, as related in the work referred to by Mr. Enthoven, seems to confine it to beliefs on occasions of second marriages. But among the Parsees it is not so confined.

Among the Parsees, the custom of "setting up *kalasa*" (*kalasyo*) is observed on two occasions connected with a death in the family: (A) The first three days after death. (B) The last ten days of a Parsee year.

¹ Journal, *op. cit.* p. 640.

During the first three days after death, a *kalasyo*, plays some part in the remembrance of the dead. No sooner is the dead body removed from the house to be carried to the Tower of Silence a *kalasya*, full of water, with flowers in it, is placed near the place where the body was placed before being carried for disposal. The water and flowers are changed twice—in the morning and in the evening. The lady member of the family who does this is one who has gone through a bath. This is generally observed for three days. Few, very few, observe this custom of setting up a *kalasya* for more than three days—for 10, 30 or 365 days of the year. This subsequent setting up is not on the place where the body was last placed, but in any clean part of the house. In the case of the observation of the custom by some even after the first three days, the *kalasa* is replaced at times by a flower vase. I know of a respectable high family which observed the custom of setting up a *kalasya* or flower vase for years together after the death of the head of the family. They also placed by the side of the *kalasya* or flower vase a suit of clothes. I know a respectable leading family of the Parsee Desais in Naosari which sets up some flowers in a vase, on a seat spoken of as the *gadi* or the throne of the deceased head of the family, even now, about 40 or 50 years after death. A *turban* of the deceased is also placed there.

The second occasion connected with death on which the *kalasa* or *kalasya* is set up and plays a prominent part is that of observing some funeral ceremonies in honour of the dead, performed during the last 10 days of a Parsee year—days known among them as Farvardegan holidays or Muktad holidays. I will, at first,

(A) Setting up a *kalasa* during the first three days after death.

(B) The observance of the custom during the Muktad holidays.

describe here the holidays, quoting what I have said in one of my previous works:—

"The last ten days of the Parsee year from roz Astād, the 26th day of the last month Aspendād, to the day of Vahishtoyisht Gāthā, are known as the Farvardegān or the Muktdā holidays. They are the principal holy days for the remembrance of the dead. In the case of the death of a member of a family during a year, these holidays are particularly observed ceremoniously by the family during the first year. In other years, the ceremonies are often performed in turn jointly by several families that are chips of the same block. For example, A has left behind him three sons, B, C, D. After the death of A, the three sons observe the holidays ceremoniously and perform all religious ceremonies, in turn every year, in their own houses. In case B has a death in his family in a particular year he generally prefers to perform the ceremonies at his house, though it be not his turn, because it is the first year of the death of a member of his family. In the case where ceremonies are performed in turns, the others pay their mite as a part of the expenses. For example, if it is B's turn, then C and D pay a certain sum as their mites for the expenses.

"These holidays are known by the following two names of which the first is the older name:—1. The Farvardegān Holidays. 2. Muktdā Holidays."¹

The custom of observing these holidays is very old. We learn from Menander Protector (b. about 550 A.C.), the Byzantine historian, who had lived in the reign of king Mauricius (Mauricius Flavius Tiberius, 582-602) that, when the Roman emperor's Embassy arrived in Persia to the Court of Naoshirwān the Just (Chosroes I), the latter delayed the

Menander Protector's reference to the Farvardegān holidays.

¹ Vide my "The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees" (1922), pp. 465-69.

reception of the Embassy, because he was engaged in the observance of the ten Farvardegan holidays.¹

The word Farvardegan is plural of *fravard* (another form of *fravart* or *fravarti*, which is another form of Avesta *Fravashi*) and means "the ceremony in honour of the Fravashis or the Farohars or the guardian spirits of the dead." In India, the Parsees have been using the word *Muktad*, (मुक्ताद) for the holidays. The Avesta words for the holy guardian spirits of the dead are 'Ashaonam fravashayō'. Dastur Neryosang Dhaval, while translating some of the Avesta writings into Sanskrit, translated the above words as *muktātmanā vrūdhā* (मुक्तात्माना वृद्धी). Hence arose the Indian Parsee name of the holidays as *Muktad*, i.e., the days for the remembrance of the holy souls for *mukti* or salvation.

The principal observance during the holidays is that known as "*muktad mādeva*" (मुक्ताद मादेवा), i.e., to set up *muktad*. The house, or if not the whole house, a particular part of the house, is cleaned and generally white-washed before the holidays. Then, in that cleaned and white-washed portion of the house, they put an iron or marble stand or a table. In some Parsee houses, built by Parsees, a chunam-built platform, in the form of an altar, is built for the purpose from the very beginning. On such a stand, table, or platform, *kalasyās* (water-pots), containing water and flowers are arranged. The place where the *kalasyās* (water-pots), are arranged, is lit up at night.² Fire is kept burning with fragrant sandal-wood and frankincense for a great part of the day and night. Rela-

1 *Vide* Darmesteter "Le Zend Avesta," Vol. II, p. 503, n. 11.

2 I remember being in Paris on 1st and 2nd November 1889 when they celebrated their holidays in honour of the dead, "Le jour de tous les morts" and "Le jour de tous les saints". What I saw during one of the two nights in the house of a learned scholar, in the form of decorations with flowers, burning candlesticks, etc., at once reminded me of

tions and friends pay visits, especially in the afternoon or early at night. They carry flowers with them, which are placed on the pots. They name the particular person in whose *kalasya* they desire their flowers to be placed. Every individual deceased has a separate *kalasyâ* in his or her honour. They bow their head towards the *kalasyas* set up there and pay their homage to the dead. The visits are spoken of as *muktâd ne pagê padva javun* (મુક્તદ ને પડવા જવું), i.e., to go to pay homage to the spirits of the deceased. They feed the fire, and remember, at the same time, the particular departed ones, to pay homage to whose memory, they pay the visit.

Now for each dead of the family, there is at present the custom to place a separate *kalasya* (pot) for several number of years after death. For example, suppos. a family has lost two persons during a year, say E and F. Then two separate *kalasyâs* (pots), each in memory of E and F, are provided and placed on the stand or on the platform.¹ That particular pot is spoken of as E's or F's *kalasya*. At times, they place not one pot but more than one, one over another. That is called *behru* (બેરુ). Some derived it from Gujarati *be* (બે), i.e., two.²

The custom of observing the last 10 days of the year in honour of the dead in a separate clean part of the house is old but a part of the modern Parsee phraseology about the ceremony is Indian. The whole ceremony is

a Parsee Muktâd ceremony, with this difference that in a Parsee house the Fire burnt in a fire-vase, and there in Paris, it burnt in the fires place in the drawing room. (*Vide* my Gujarati "Lectures and Sermon-on Zoroastrian Subjects", Part II).

1 *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", p. 475.

2 *Ibid.* p. 476. I derive the word from Persian '*behrêh*' (بهره) share and attribute the use of the word to the fact that the different members of the family block paid their shares (*behrêh*) in the joint Muktâd ceremony expenses.

referred to in the Pahlavi Vajarkard-i-Dini, where it is spoken of as *hurak itibunashna*. In the Persian Rivayats, it is spoken of as *hurak nashândan*. The meaning of both the phrases is "to get the *hurak* seated". The meaning of the word *hurak* is not clear. In modern Parsee Indian phraseology also, the signification of *setting* or *seating* continues. For example, people speak of *muktâd bethâ* (મુક્તાદ બેઠા), i.e., the Muktâd sat.

The most significant part of the ceremony is that connected with *kalasa*, a water-pot. The Parsees use the word as *kalasyo* or *karasyo* (કલસ્યો or કરસ્યો). They also speak of the *karasya* of each particular dead. For example, the *karasyo* of A or B, i.e., of such and such a dead person. At the end of the 10 ceremonial¹ days or—as many in India observe the holidays for 18 days—at the end of 18 days, every family takes away the particular *kalasyas* or pots dedicated by them in memory of their particular dead and keep them in a separate place. They are not used for other ordinary purposes.

The Indian custom, referred to above, speaks of.

2. The setting up in the name of the deceased.

"setting up a *kalasa* (water-pot) in her name and making *pûja* to it; and also by offering a new cloth which the second wife afterwards wears". In the Avesta², where the above ten Muktâd days and their observances are spoken of, *naming* the dead is specially referred to. The Fravashis, or the Spirits, of the dead expect their names to be recited. They say:—"Who will praise us? Who will offer us a sacrifice? Who will meditate upon us? Who will bless us? Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand and with a prayer worthy of bliss? Of which of us will the *name* be taken for invocation?" We see from this passage that

1 Vide my Gujarati book "An enquiry from Pahlavi, Pazend and other works on the subject of the number of days of the Farvardegan (મુક્તાદના દિવસો કેટલા ?) ૧૯૦૭".

2 Fravardin Yasht XIII, 49-50.

naming is held to be important. So, in every Parsee family, what is called the *nâm-grahan*¹ (lit. the taking of of names), which is a register of the names of the dead, plays an important part. The family priest recites the names of all the dead of the family from that register.² Among the Parsees, the *kalasa* set up in memory of a particular deceased is inscribed with the name of the deceased.

Among the Hindus, the second wife is said to be making a *puja* to the *kalasa* "set up" in the name of the first wife. As said above, among the Parsees, there is no special custom for the second wife to set up a *kalasa* in the name of the first wife. What is common between the two communities is simply "the setting up of *kalasa*" in honour of the dead. If by *puja* is simply meant bowing as a posture of homage to the memory of the deceased, the Parsees have that observance. When they go to the place where the *Muktâd* is set up, they make a general obeisance. When the particular *kalasa* is pointed out to them as being 'the one in the name of the particular deceased with whom they were much associated, they bow in that direction remembering her name.

The general prayer of remembrance recited at the time is spoken of now by the Parsees as *Muktâd no namaskâr* (મુક્તાદનો નમસ્કાર), i.e., "the Prayer of Homage to the departed souls". It runs thus:—"Ashaonâm vanghuhish sârâo spentâo fravashayô yazamaidê".

1. *Vide my* "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," p. 470.

2. *Vide my* paper on "A *Vahi*, or Register of the Dead of some of the Parsees of Broach, and a Parsee Martyr mentioned in it" *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XIV No 3, pp. 303-18; *Vide* pp. 1-16 *ante*

અમે યાદના રાવન રાવણી યાદના રાવણી યાદના રાવણી યાદના રાવણી
 i.e., We remember the good powerful beneficent *fravashs*

(Holy Spirits) of the righteous.

In the case of the particular deceased the formula is: "Aidar yad bad anusheh-ravan ravani", i.e., May the Holy Spirit of (.....here the particular deceased is mentioned by name) be remembered here.

The Hindu custom speaks of an offering of new cloth in honour of the deceased. Among the Parsees, the offering of a new suit of clothes in honour of the dead play an important part. In the Farvardin Yasht (Yt. XIII, 50), the holy spirits of the deceased are represented as expressing a desire in the above named Muktaḍ holidays, to be remembered with clothes. They say:—"Kō paiti-zanāt.....zasta vastra vata asha nāsa nemangha".

અમે યાદના રાવન રાવણી યાદના રાવણી યાદના રાવણી યાદના રાવણી
 i.e., Who will welcome us with clothes in their hands and prayers aiming at righteousness.

The suit of clothes offered is known as Siāv² (સીઆવ). This suit of clothes is spoken of as Jame-i ashodad, i.e., "the gift to the righteous". Among the Parsees on some occasions, it is presented to the family priest. It is not necessarily expected that the person who offers should put it on.

At the Oothamna ceremony on the third day after death, small pieces of new cloth, sufficiently large to make a *sudrah*, or holy shirt, are offered and presented to the priests.

1 Yaçna XXVI, 1.

2 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," p. 85.

The Hindu custom speaks of some ceremony to appease the spirit of a deceased husband or wife, on the occasion of a second marriage. The Parsees also perform some religious ceremonies in honour of a deceased wife or husband, when the husband or wife remarries. It is meant, as a simple ceremony of remembrance. All the dear departed ones are remembered and invoked on occasions, even of first marriages. Such invocations are included in the ceremonies known as *Varadh-patra*.¹ But on occasions of second marriage, ceremonies in honour of the individual first wife or husband are performed. The night is generally the time for celebrating and consecrating the marriage; so the *Vendidad*, which is recited at night, is generally enjoined to be recited on the occasion.

I think the *kalasa*, *kalasia*, or water-pot, has come into importance in the later stage of the belief. The offering of water and flowers is the first general custom. They were offered at the family altar or family hearth in honour of the dead, in their pious remembrance. That is the original main pious object. But there must be some utensil or pot in which the water and flowers may be offered. Which utensil or vessel can be more conveniently used than *kalasa* or *kalasiya* which is ordinarily used in all Indian houses for holding or drinking water? So, that utensil came in use. Now a days we find some refined taste replacing the *kalasa* by the flower vase. So, the original belief of offering water and flowers in honour of the dead came to be associated with the *kalasa* holding the water and the flowers that were offered. A separate *kalasa* came to be associated with the memory of each deceased.

I will conclude this paper with the mention of a few

1 *Ibid.* page 20.

thoughts suggested by the custom of haming things set up in honour of the dead or of naming the deceased in the religious prayers offered to remember them.

The custom of associating the *name* of a person living or deceased, with a particular religious act, seems to play a very prominent part both in church and in society. While visiting places of worship in Japan in my visit of that beautiful country in 1923, I was struck with the spread of the custom there. On entering into many religious places there, in the very entrance I saw several huge wooden boards with hundreds of names—names of donors who had given their offerings for the building of the temples or for their upkeep. All donations, varying from thousands of yens to small sums of five, were mentioned on the boards and new names were being added. It seems to have been believed that unless *names* were so marked or noted, due merit did not accrue to the donors.

Again, whether the authorities of the religious places name them or not, the pilgrims themselves took care to name themselves, or, as it were, to register their names in religious places of their visits. I observed at Neco that the pilgrims, who visited the holy mountain, attached slips of papers with their names to the trees round about. This was, as it were, registering their own names as pilgrims. They seemed to think that without their names being thus announced or registered, the merit of their pilgrimage remained unwritten or unnoted.

I think that one can well trace the modern practice of travellers writing their names on old buildings of archæological repute to this old custom of "naming" in religious observances and during pilgrimages. The stages may be mentioned as follows:—

The naming in old religious customs and the naming in modern vandalism.

- (1) The living *named* their dead dear ones in their offerings and recitals of prayers in honour of the dead. To speak in Parsee religious philosophy, the *zindeh-ravân* (the living souled), named the *Anousheh-ravân*, i.e., the immortal souled.
- (2) The living *named* their departed dear ones on their tombs and in churches, e.g., in the form of memorial tablets.
- (3) The authorities of religious mansions or institutions *named*, in their book or public registers, or in public places, the donors, whether the donations were by the donors for their own merit or in honour of the dead.
- (4) The pilgrims (who as far as they gave offering in the places of pilgrimage were donors) *named* themselves on or about the places of their pilgrimage.
- (5) The visits of old archæological places were a kind of pilgrimage. The visitors then wrote, or, as it were, registered there their names. That grew to modern vandalism.
- (6) The modern practices of putting up tablets in the names of the donors on modern religious or charitable buildings seems to have evolved or grown from the preceding.

I do not mean to assert that the above is the regular order. The order may vary or have new items of other customs intervening between them. But what I mean to say is, that all these practices arose from the old belief of *naming* the deceased in whose honour offerings were made.

A SUMMARY OF THE FIRST TWO CHAPTERS OF SIR HERBERT RISLEY'S "PEOPLE OF INDIA".¹

"The People of India" by Sir Herbert Risley, one of the esteemed ex-Presidents of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, is a very

Introduction. learned and useful work, which all interested in the Anthropology of India may read with advantage. While reading it some years ago, I had the pleasure of taking brief notes, in the form of an outline, of its first two important chapters. I beg to submit here, (as said in one of my previous papers,²) this outline, hoping that it may interest the beginners of the study of the Anthropology of India.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL TYPES.

There are "some decisive physical features which determine the course of the natural movements of mankind."³ In the matter of these physical features, India is, as it were, "an irregularly triangular or pear-shaped fortress, protected, on two sides, by the sea," and, on the third, by mountain ranges of which the Himalaya forms "the central and most impregnable portion."⁴

1 This paper was printed in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIV, No. 7, pp. 877-924.

2 Vol. XIV, pp. 857-59.

3 H. H. Risley's "People of India", p. 1.

4 *Ibid.* Prof. Huxley compares the shape of India to "the diamond on a pack of cards, having a north angle at Ladakh, a south angle at Cape Comorin, a west angle near the mouth of the Indus, and an east angle near that of the Ganges".

These mountain ranges "curve westward and southward towards the Arabian Sea."¹ There are a number of passes (like the Bolan, Khyber, etc.) by which armies, with some kind of commissariat arrangements etc., can enter India, but not groups of families or tribes. So, immigration from the North is stopped. The ridges from the eastern end of the Himalaya run North and South. Thus, any immigration from that side also is stopped. So, the Mongolian immigration has turned towards the river-basins of Indo-China. Hence it is, that great Mongolian immigrations have generally been towards Burma and China.

In some places, where the mountain range is passable and convenient for some immigration, other difficulties prevent it. (a) There is an available "gap between the Suleiman range and the Arabian Sea," which is a little convenient for immigration, but the deserts of Makran, which lie in the way of the gap, prevent immigration from that side.² (b) Again, add to this physical difficulty, the difficulty caused by the habitation of "races of masterless men", who plunder travellers. On the East, some available gaps are formed by "tractless forests", the difficulties of crossing which are added to by races, among whom a "primitive rule is, that a man must prove his manhood by taking the stranger's head."

On the Western side of India, the difficulties of immigration were less; and so, we find the Western part of India, between the sea-coast and the Western Ghats, admitting traders and others. But the extent of this

1 *Ibid.* *Vide* Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, Vol. I. This comparison is "analogous to the rhomboid of Eratosthenes and other Greek geographers." (*Ibid.* n.)

2 *E.g.*, like the case of the destruction of a part of Alexander the Great's army on its return homewards, in spite of Alexander taking all possible care to avoid a mishap.

portion is limited. The long range of the forest-clad Western Ghats, running North to South, prevented a free or easy access to the interior, thus somewhat preventing immigration on a large scale from that side. On the Eastern side, the low coast, well-nigh harbourless, prevented a free immigration from that side. Thus, the physical cause of mountain ranges, deserts, trackless forests and harbourless eastern coast and the historical cause of the occupation of the regions on the other side of some available gaps by lawless people have brought about some sort of isolation for India.

The big country or rather continent, thus isolated, comprises three main regions": (1) the Northern, that of the Himalaya, the abode of snow; (2) the Middle Land or Madhyadesa, formed by "the river plains of Northern India"; (3) "the southern tableland of the Deccan." In brief, the three regions are Northern, Middle and the Southern. Each of these three regions has an "ethnic character of its own," contributing "a distinct element to the making of the Indian peoples."¹ (a) The Deccan, "one of the most ancient geological formations in the world, has, since the dawn of history, been the house of the Dravidians, the oldest of the Indian races". (b) "The (Madhyadesa, the most recent of the three regions, the alluvial plains of the north, formed, in pre-historic times the high way of the Aryan advance into India, and a large section of its inhabitants still cherishes the tradition of remote Aryan descent. (c) The influence of (the 'first region) the Himalaya has been mainly negative." But, in spite of its acting as a barrier from the north, "all along the line of hills, even among people whose speech is of Rajput ori-

1 *Ibid.* p. 2.

gin, distinct traces may be observed of an intermixture of Mongolian blood." Thus, old India had Dravidians in the South, Aryans in the middle (strictly speaking from the modern point of view, not the middle but the North) and an intermixture of the Mongolian in the North or rather the upper North. The present India "has outgrown its ancient limits" by the inclusion of "the Indo-Iranian region of Baluchistan and the Indo-Chinese region of Burma," these two forming, as it were, two "outworks which guard the flanks"¹ of India. One of these two outposts, Baluchistan, which separates India from Iran, is somewhat barren and inhospitable, and the other, Burma, fertile and hospitable.

The main results of the influence of the above "external factors of the problem of Indian Ethnology" are the following: (1) The above snow-clad range of mountains only practicable to crossing at certain periods of the year, opposes a great "fusion of contrasting types". (2) Passes of lower elevation have permitted hostile incursions now and then, and these have, now and then, crushed out some "racial distinctions." (3) "Isolated hill ranges and lofty plateaux, guarded by forests..... furnish an abiding refuge for tribes which are compact enough to immigrate *en masse*. (4) Harbourless coast-lines "have failed to foster the maritime skill", and so, have permitted some daring invaders to land occasionally on the Indian soil.

India has no "pre-historic evidence of which ethnologists in Europe have made such admirable use. There are no cave-deposits, no sepulchral mounds or barrows, no kitchen middens, no lake dwellings, no ancient forti-

1 *Ibid.* p. 3.

fied towns...and no sculptured bones or weapons portraying the vicissitudes of the life of primitive man. The climate and the insects have obliterated all perishable vestiges of the past, and what nature may have spared, a people devoid of the historic sense has made no effort to preserve."¹ So, one must resort to conjecture based on some solid basis. "A society in many respects still primitive," supplies that solid basis.

The basis of society in ancient India was racial. Some old monuments show "the race sentiment of the Aryans towards the Dravidians, which runs through the whole course of Indian tradition and survives in scarcely abated strength to the present day." The higher race of the Aryans is always friendly to the lower race—the Dravidians—but it is also conscious of its superiority. It is "sympathetic, but patronising." This race sentiment "supplied the motive principle of caste.....(and) its influence has tended to preserve in comparative purity the types which it favours".²

The data of Ethnology are of three kinds: (1) Physical characters. (2) Linguistic characters. (3) Religious and Social usages. Of these, the physical characters are the most trustworthy. The other two, language and customs, may, at times, mislead.

"The belief, that linguistic affinities prove community of descent was one which commended itself alike to (a) populations struggling for freedom and to (b) rulers in search of excuses for removing a "neighbour's landmark."³ Napoleon III, taking advantage of this belief and taking the title of the Emperor of France, annexed

1 *Ibid.* p. 4.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.* p. 7.

Savoy where French was spoken. The idea of Pan-Tعونism thus helped the cause of German unity. "Thus we find Comparative Philology, in the hands of ardent patriots and astute diplomatists, trespassing on the domain of ethnology and confusing for political purposes the two distinct conceptions of race and nationality."¹

The ethnologists themselves were at fault, because they, at times, "based their classification of races mainly upon linguistic characters." Instead of resorting to the observations of physical data "which form the main basis of ethnological conclusions," the ethnologists themselves appealed to linguistic data instead of physical data for various reasons. (a) Firstly, because the linguistic data are easy to collect and easy to examine. Dr. Grierson resorted for his linguistic Survey of India, embodied in 16 volumes, to the "device of circulating for translation, the parable of the Prodigal Son", substituting a fat goat for a fat calf and a number of common words and phrases. In the case of physical data, in place of this simple device, there would have been much trouble, costs and time. (b) Secondly, it is more easy to classify precisely the languages than to classify "the minute variations of form and feature which go to make up an ethnic type."² (c) Thirdly, "while there are practically no mixed languages, there are hardly any pure races. Judged by the only sound test, that of grammatical structure as distinguished from mere vocabulary, all languages may be regarded as true genera and species from which no hybrid progeny can arise. Words may be borrowed on a larger or smaller scale but the essential structure of the language remains unchanged, the foreign elements being forced into an indigenous mould."³ e.g., the French, borrowing from English, speak of taking afternoon-tea as

1 *Ibid.* .

2 *Ibid.* p. 8.

3 *Ibid.*

"*five o'clocker.*" The Bengalis speak of late attendance as *ami miss-train kariyàchhi*. In such cases, the borrowed phrases have been "dealt with in accordance with the genius of the language and there is no approach to structural hybridism. Races, on the other hand, mix freely; they produce endless varieties." There is no satisfactory system of classifying the variations. Thus has arisen an "unholy alliance" between two distinct sciences, Comparative Philology and Ethnology.

Then the question is: "What are the true relations between Ethnology and Philology? Within what limits can we argue from correspondence of language to community of race or from differences of language to diversity of race?" Some scholars like Schwiker and Hale are of opinion that "language is the only true test of racial affinities." Others like Sayce say "that identity or relationship of language can prove nothing more than social contact."

"The mere fact that speech is a physiological function depending in the last resort on the structure of the larynx", suggests that the latter view is correct. Some races produce sounds which others cannot but simply imitate, *e.g.*, the Bengalis cannot pronounce simple 's'. They always pronounce it as 'sh'. The people of Western India generally pronounce 'v' like 'w'. All oriental people add an 'i' before 's'. They speak Smith as Ismith, state as istate, slate as islate, scholar as ischolar.

Now, the truth lies between the two extreme opinions of scholars. "There are four possible cases:

- (1) Where both language and physical type have been changed by contact with other races or communities;"¹ *e.g.*, the Bengali speaking Kochh have lost both their tribal language and original Mongoloid type.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 9.

- (2) "Where the language has changed, but the racial type has remained the same;" *e.g.*, the Gauls, Normans and Lombards in Europe, the Negroes in America and the Ahoms, Bhumij and many others in India.
- (3) Where the language has been kept, but the racial type changed, *e.g.*, "a large proportion of the Rajputs all over India."¹
- (4) "Where both language and physical type are unchanged", *e.g.*, the Andamanese, the Santals, the Mundas and the Manipuris. In the first two cases, where language has changed, an appeal to language would be of no use. As to the next two, in both of which the language has remained unchanged, the undermentioned canon may apply:
- (a) "In areas where several languages are spoken, one or more will be *dominant, i.e.*, gaining ground, and the rest are *decadent* or *subordinate, i.e.*, are stationary or declining."²
- (b) The fact of a tribe using a dominant language "does not of itself suggest any inference as to its origin."
- (c) "The fact that such a group speaks a decadent language may supply evidence of their origin, the value of which will vary with circumstances."³

These propositions do not carry us very far. At times, they break down. "The fact that the Rajbansi-Kochh and the Bhumij both speak Bengali does not prove them to be of Indo-Aryan descent. On this point, their physical type would be conclusive."⁴ "(a) Two small

1 *Ibid.* . 2 *Ibid.* p. 10.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.* p. 11.

and isolated communities in Bengal—the Siyalgirs of Midnapore and the Kichaks of Dacca, (are) speaking Bhil dialects of Gujarati.” One may infer from this, “that these people may have come from Gujarat and are probably related in some way to the Bhils.” But there is room for doubt. Their traditions and usages and occupations “suggest, that, at no very distant date, they formed part of that miscellaneous multitude of gypsy folk whose origin is no less of a mystery in India than in other parts of the world.¹ To people of their habits,.....the possession of a special *argot* would be an obvious convenience and it seems simple to suppose that this circumstance led to the wide diffusion of the dialect than to argue that the small groups which make use of it in Bengal must be fragments of a distant and compact tribe like the Bhils².”

(b) The Vaidu (herbalists) of Poona speak Marathi outside, and Kanarese at home. They were brought by one of the Peshwas from Kanara. (c) “The Kasar (coppersmiths) of Nasik speak Gujarati at home, and Marathi out of doors.” Here their languages “point to a migration, but the value of the deduction is small.” (d) The weakness of “the argument from affinity of language to affinity of race is afforded by Brahui...Most of the Dravidian speaking areas are massed in the south of India.” But, the Brahui “a tiny island of Dravidian speech far away in Baluchistan, where it is surrounded on all sides by Indo-Aryan languages” speaks Dravidian. The conclusions drawn from this strange fact are various. Some conclude, that the Dravidians came to India from beyond the North-West frontier. Another school takes the Brahui as an outpost of the main body of Dravi-

1 I think, that it seems from Firdousi, that the gypsies were originally Indian minstrels. They long stayed in Persia and then spread over the whole of the world.

2 *Ibid.*

dians in southern India. But both the schools ignore the fact that there are "marked differences between the Brahui and the Dravidians." The resemblance of language can only be explained by the fact that at one time the Brahui lived in close contact with the Dravidians, and were in their speech influenced by the latter. Here the decadent and isolated language must tell a plain tale, but fails. "Thus, we end very much where we began, with the rather impotent conclusion that in questions of racial affinity, while the testimony of language should certainly be considered, the chances are against its telling us anything that we did not know already from other and less dubious sources¹."

Now, we come to the physical characters which are more certain to tell us something—at least more certain than the languages. Physical characters are (I) Indefinite and (II) Definite. *Indefinite* physical characters are those

Physical characters.

"which can only be *described* in more or less appropriate language." *Definite* are those "which admit of being measured

and reduced to numerical expression."² So, the Definite physical characters, being expressed in *number*, carry something of "mathematical certainty."

The *indefinite* physical characters are also spoken of

1. Indefinite Physical Characters.

as *descriptive* or *secondary*, because they merely describe the characters and are of a secondary importance to, or lesser

importance than, the *definite*, which are also spoken of as anthropometric characters, because they can be properly measured or numbered by the help of anthropometric instruments.

The *indefinite* characters include "such points as:

(1) The colour and texture of the skin.

1 *Ibid.* p. 92.

2 *Ibid.*

(2) The colour, form and position of the eyes.

(3) The colour and character of the hair.

(4) The form of the face and features."

These traits, though they are conspicuous and important, cannot be taken as mathematically certain, because it is very difficult to observe, define and record them. They present many short-comings in the indefinite or descriptive method.

Of all these, colour is the most evasive trait. In about 1868, Broca, the French anthropologist "devised a chromatic scale consisting of twenty shades, regularly graduated and numbered, for regulating the colour of the eyes, and thirty-four for the skin."¹ But when observers began to class their observations according to the scale, as No. 1, No. 2, and so on, it was found that the result was not satisfactory. Observers differed in their conclusions. "Even when the numbers have been correctly registered no one can translate the result of the observations into intelligible languages."² So, Topinard, who followed him, gave up the method of "the scale of pattern colours" and reverted to "the method of simple description"; *e.g.*, he described, the mud-coloured hair of the peasants of Central Europe as "the colour of a dusty chestnut." This method also was not found very satisfactory. So, latterly, under the auspices of the British Association, the two above methods were attempted to be combined. Both, a simple colour scale and a simple description, were followed. However, for various reasons, the colour test is evasive and not satisfactory. It may make different impressions upon different observers, who cannot sufficiently well describe the differences so as to be of use for our purpose.

1 *Ibid.* p. 13.

2 *Ibid.* •

As regards the colour of the skin, "in point of fact the colour of the skin is rather what may be called an artistic expression, depending (a) partly upon the action of light, (b) partly on the texture and transparency of the skin itself, and (c) partly again on the great variety of shades which occur in every part of its surface." This difficulty of correct observation is enhanced in India where "the range of variation, especially in the case of the eyes and hair, is exceedingly small¹." In the case of skin, the range is not small. We can, to a certain extent, detect at once the difference of colours. The ivory colour of the skin of the handsome Kashmiri can be easily distinguished from that of the charcoal like black of some tribe of the Nilgiris and the "wheat colour" of some of the people of upper India. But still, there are various shades of colour between these easily marked colours which it is difficult to find and describe accurately.

Again, in the individual, there are "comparatively *unstable*" minute gradations—unstable because they are influenced by exposure to the sun and wind and by temperature and humidity. For example, a long stay in Europe may bring about some change in the colour of the skin. Covered and uncovered portions of the body of one and the same individual produce different tints of colour. Hence, the difficulty of depending upon the indefinite or descriptive physical character of colour and texture.²

"Throughout India, the eyes are almost invariably dark brown",³ but there are "occasional instances of grey eyes", e.g., among the Konkanasth Brahmans of Bombay. Some of the people of the North-western frontier have blue eyes. On the Malabar coast, there are instances of

1 *Ibid.* p. 18.

2 *Ibid.* p. 14.

3 *Ibid.* p. 15

"pale blue and grey eyes." Thus, there is an uncertainty in the use of the physical character of the colour of the eye for the purpose of determining race distinctions.

The hair of the people of India are generally black or dark brown. Among the higher castes, this black or dark brown colour has a little tawny shade.

Again, in point of form, generally, the hair are straight. But, just as in Europe, so here, there is a certain proportion of people who have "wavy or curly hair." "The Andamanese have woolly or frizzy hair, oval in section and curling on itself so tightly that it seems to grow in separate spiral tufts, while in fact it is quite evenly distributed over the scalp."¹ The wavy hair of the Dravidians are generally described as "woolly and frizzy," but they cannot be correctly described as woolly. No Indian race has perfectly woolly hair. The Syrian Christians of South Travancore are said to have "a red tinge to the moustache."² Thus hair also is not a quite safe test for determining a race.

4. The form of the face and features.

Mr. Risley does not say anything separately on this subject.

Now, coming to the second class of physical characters, viz., "the definite or anthropometric physical characters," we find that a particular canon or ideal type must be taken for standard measurements. They resort to a canon or ideal type "to determine the proportions which various parts of the body should bear to the entire figure and to each other." For this determination, in the first instance, an "unit" must be fixed. The Egyp-

1 *Ibid.* p. 14.

2 *Ibid.* p. 15.

tians and the Greeks are believed to have first applied instruments of precision to measure human bodies.¹

(a) The Egyptians took the middle finger as the unit. Nineteen times the length of the middle finger was the length of the full stature of a man. Three times the length of the middle finger made up the length of the head and neck, and eight that of the arm. (b) The Greek unit was a-thousandth part of the entire stature. (c) The Roman canon considered the navel to be the centre of the body. (d) Jean Cousin, a French scholar, took the nose as an unit and "represented the ideal head as measuring four noses and the ideal stature as equivalent to eight heads or thirty two noses."² This forms the "canon des ateliers" of the French artists now. "The orientation or adjustment of the head in an upright position" was also a question at one time considered in this connection of physical characters. It seems to have been a precedent, as it were, for the later "facial angle" of Camper.

But all these canons were resorted to from an artistic point of view. They did not take account of the *distinctive characters of the particular races*. They rather sank these distinctive characters "in the attempt to frame a general canon of the proportions of the body which should hold good for the whole of mankind."³ But anthropology attends more to points of difference than to those of

1 I think that it was the custom of mummifying the bodies that led to the use of instruments and to measurements. Clothes and coverings of certain measurements had to be made for the mummy. Again, boxes of seasoned wood had to be made for the bodies. Then sarcophagi had to be made for these wooden boxes. For all these purposes, exact measurements of the bodies were necessary.

2 The following table expresses the standard: 4 Noses=one ideal head. 8 Heads or 32 noses=one ideal stature.

3 *Ibid.* p. 16.

resemblance. It "seeks by examination and analogies of such differences to form hypotheses concerning the genesis of the distinct race stocks now in existence."¹

One can trace the germs of anthropometric research in the work of Herodotus. He refers to the battle of Plataea, which was fought between the Persians and the Egyptians, and says, that several years after the battle, when they unearthed the remains of the soldiers of both the sides, the skulls of the Persians were found to be thin and those of the Egyptians, thick, the reason for the difference being this: The Persians always put on hats while the Egyptians shaved their heads and moved about uncovered.² This is again an instance of the influence of external conditions upon the physical characters of a people.

It was the Swedish naturalist, Anders Retzius, who, in 1842, first suggested "the device of expressing one of the chief characters of the skull by the relation of its maximum breadth to its maximum length, the latter being taken to be one thousand." Thus, the skulls of men came to be divided into two classes:

- (1) "The Dolicho-cephalic, or long-headed type, in which the length exceeds the breadth by about one-fourth."³

1 *Ibid.*

2 *Vide* my Gujarati work on "The Ancient Iranians (પાંડિત્ય) according to Herodotus and Strabo." The Parsees of India have inherited the ancient Iranian custom of always covering the head. Upto a few years ago, it was considered a sin to walk bare-headed. About 50 years ago, when a Parsee Professor, the late Col. Parukh, began to deliver his lectures in the Grant Medical College, with bare head, there was somewhat of a general dislike. Even now, when a Parsee takes his oath, in a Court of Law, he covers his head with his hand, if he has no cap.

3 *Ibid.* p. 17.

- (2) "The Brachycephalic or short-headed type in which the length exceeds the breadth by a proportion varying from one-fifth to one-eighth."

Retzius also divided the types of face into two classes:

- (1) "The Orthognathic, in which the jaws and teeth project either not at all, or very little beyond a line drawn from the forehead."¹
- (2) "The Prognathic, in which this projection is very marked."²

He classed races on the basis of these characters. In 1861, Broca introduced an intermediate class, the *mesati-cephalic* or medium-headed and thus improved the system of Retzius. In this improvement, he expressed the classification in hundredths instead of thousandths. He ranged from 77.7 to 80 per cent and gave "the name *cephalic* index to the relation between the two diameters."³ Since then, other measurements also have been introduced.

At first, Craniometry, *i.e.*, the examination of skulls,

Craniometry and
Anthropometry,

alone was thought to be sufficient to solve the question regarding the origin and antiquity of man. It was thought that it would clear up "the mystery of the prehistoric skulls discovered in the quaternary strata of Europe." It connected the skulls "on the one side with a possible Simian ancestor of mankind and on the other with the races of the present day."⁴ Thus craniometry was concerned exclusively with skulls of the dead. But anthropometry is concerned with living people. Though the procedures of anthropometry are "in some respects less precise and its results less minute and exhaustive," it has several advantages. It has a wider range. (a) The measurements are in connection, not only with the head, but with the whole stature and the proportion of the limbs. (b) Again, there is no doubt

1 *Ibid.*

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.* p. 18.

4 *Ibid.*

about the identity of the persons measured, which doubt exists in the case of the measurements of the skulls of the dead. For example, you examine a skull in a sepulchral ground in Egypt, but that skull may be that of an Indian who had gone and died there. No such doubts exist in the case of anthropometric measurements of the living.

Anthropometry was introduced in India in about 1888 for the ethnographic survey of Bengal.

Anthropometry
in India.

(a) "It seemed that the restrictions on intermarriage, which are peculiar to the Indian social system, would favour this method of observation and would enable it to yield peculiarly clear and instructive results.

(b) "A further reason for resorting to anthropometry was the fact that the wholesale borrowing of customs and ceremonies which goes on among the various social groups in India, makes it practically impossible to arrive at any certain conclusion, by examining these practices."

(c) Again, a kind of, what may be called, heresy of Mr. Nesfield, necessitated the introduction of anthropometry in India. Mr. Nesfield denied the truth of "the modern doctrine which divides the population of India into Aryan and aboriginal" and asserted that the whole Indian race was one and that there was no difference of race between the Brahmin and the sweeper. Anthropometry refuted this heresy and showed the difference of races. In 1890, Risley published the result of his anthropometric measurement of eighty-nine "characteristic tribes and castes of Bengal, the United Provinces and Punjab and thereby distinguished three main types—the Aryan, Dravidian and Mongoloid." In these measurements, three characters are easily selected as important—" (1) the proportions of the head, (2) the proportions of the nose and (3) the stature."¹

¹ *Ibid.* p. 21.

General classification of Man-kind. The three primary types.

"No natural classification of the varieties of the human species has, as yet, been arrived at. Certain extreme types can of course be readily distinguished." For example, the difference between an Andamanese and a Chinaman, an Englishman and a Negro are marked. "But (a) owing to the tendency of individuals to vary, (b) to the intermixture of races" in the past and in the present due to easier communications of the modern times, there has arisen between the extremes "a number of intermediate or transitional forms which shade into each other by almost imperceptible degrees."¹ But generally the four groups first made—the European, Asiatic, African and American—are accepted. Cuvier has omitted the American group. Flower decides for three groups—(a) the Caucasian of Europe, (b) the Mongolian of Asia and (c) the Ethiopian of Africa. He adopts as "the basis of his classification" the following three types:

- (1) "The Ethiopian, Negroid, or black type with dark or nearly black complexion; frizzly black hair, a head almost invariably long (dolicho-cephalic); a very broad and flat nose; moderate or scanty development of beard; thick, everted lips; large teeth; and a long forearm."²

This Ethiopian or Negroid type is sub-divided into four groups; one of these is the Negrito, represented in the Indian Empire by the Andamanese who however have broad heads.

- (2) "The Mongolian, Xanthous, or yellow type, with yellow or brownish complexion." They have coarse and straight hair, usually beard-less; mostly broad headed; face broad and flat with projecting cheek-bones; nose small and

1 *Ibid.* p. 21.

2 *Ibid.* p. 22.

depressed at the root; eyes sunken, the eyelids peculiarly formed, the eye appearing as slanting downwards; teeth of moderate size."¹

- (3) The Caucasian or white type. It has "fair skin; hair fair or dark; soft, straight or wavy beard fully developed; the head-form is long or medium; the face narrow; the nose narrow and prominent; the teeth small and the forearm short."²

Like Huxley, Flower divides his above third group of the Caucasians into two groups:

- (A) "The Xanthochroi or blonde type with fair hair, light eyes, and fair complexion." They chiefly inhabit Northern Europe, but much mixed with the next type; "they extend as far as Northern Africa and Afghanistan."³
- (B) "Melanochroi, with black hair and eyes, and skin of almost all shades from white to dark." It includes "the great majority of the inhabitants of Southern Europe, Northern Africa and South-West Asia, consisting mainly of the Aryan, Semitic and Hamitic families, but also the Dravidians of India, and the Veddahs of Ceylon."³

The fault of this classification of Flower is, that "it brings together in the same category people of such widely different appearance, history, and traditions as the modern Greeks and Italians, and the black broad-nosed Dravidians of Central and Southern India."

So, Peschel's grouping is a little better. "He divides the Caucasian type into (a) Indo-Germans, (b) Semites, (c) Hamites or Berbers." He includes, the Hindus (non-Dravidian Indians) in the class of Indo-Germans

Peschel's grouping.

1 Ibid. p. 22-23.

2 Ibid. p. 23.

3 Ibid.

and takes the Dravidians, Sinhalese and Veddahs as belonging to a class of uncertain origin. Huxley takes them as Australoid.¹

In India, the general position of classification is like the above. Certain well-marked types of these groupings of India can be easily distinguished, but the difficulty arises when the minor types or sub-types formed "by varying degrees of intermixture between the main types" have to be classified. Here anthropometric measurements are useful. "We are further assisted by the remarkable correspondence that may be observed at the present day in all parts of India, except the Punjab, between variations of physical type and differences of grouping and social position. This, of course, is due to the operation of the caste system, which in its most highly developed form, the only form which admits of precise definition, is I believe entirely confined to India².".....This absolute prohibition of mixed marriages stands forth now as its (caste's) essential and most prominent characteristic.....In a society thus organised, a society putting an extravagant value on pride of blood and the idea of ceremonial purity, differences of physical type, however produced in the first instance may be expected to manifest a high degree of persistence³." So, in India, anthropometry is not hindered or baffled as in other countries where there are free intermarriages creating a difficulty in the conclusions from measurements. "All the recognised nations of Europe are the result of a process of unrestricted crossing, which has fused a number of distinct tribal types into a more or less defi-

1 *Ibid.* p. 24.

2 *Ibid.* *Vide* my paper "Was there any Institution in ancient Iran like that of Caste in India?" (*Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XIII, No. 8, pp. 816-822. *Vide* my *Anthropological Papers*, Part IV, pp. 199-205.) 3 Risley's "People of India," p. 24.

nable natural type." In India, the process of fusion has ceased. So, the physical characteristics easily give certain results. "There is consequently no national type and no nation or even nationality in the ordinary sense of these words."¹

Explanation about the anthropometric measurements.

The anthropometric measurements generally taken are the following:

- A. Head.
- B. Nose.
- C. Face.
- D. Stature.

The methods of these measurements require to be explained. We will first speak of the measurements of the head.

(A) *Measurement of the Head.*

Length of the head is measured "from a definite point of the forehead (the glabella) to the back of the forehead". Breadth from ear to ear, a little above the ears. "The proportion of the breadth to the length is then expressed as a percentage, called the *Cephalic Index*, the length being taken as 100. Heads with a breadth of 80 per cent. and 75 over" are brachy-cephalic or broad. Heads with an index under 80 but not under 75 are meso—or mesati—cephalic or medium. Dolicho-cephalic or long heads "are those in which the ratio of breadth to length is below 75 per cent."²

These groupings of heads into long, broad and medium do not always correspond in the primary divisions of mankind (such as the white Caucasian, the yellow Mongolian and the black Ethiopian), but within these primary

1 *Ibid.* p. 25.

2 *Ibid.*

divisions, "the proportions of the head serve to mark off important groups." So, for example, in the Caucasian group, the anthropometric measurements separate the long-headed Scandinavians from the broad-headed Celts and Slavs, the Esquimaux from the Negrites.

The form of the head always presents "an extremely constant and persistent character," unaffected by climate and physical surroundings. "Having nothing to do with the personal appearance of the individual," the form of the head "is not liable to be modified by the action of artificial selection. Men choose their wives mainly for their faces and figures, and a long-headed woman offers no greater attraction of external form and colouring than her short-headed sister. The intermixture of races with different head-forms will, of course, affect the index, but even here there is a tendency to revert to the original type, when the influence of crossing is withdrawn."¹ So, the form of the head is a good test of racial affinity. "It may be added that neither the shape nor the size of the head seems to bear any direct relation to intellectual capacity." Long-headed people are not cleverer or more cultured than the short-headed.

In relation to the rest of Asia, India is mainly long-headed, and it is separated by the Himalayas and its offshoots from the short-headed Mongolia, "where the broad head types are more numerous and more pronounced than anywhere else in the world." At both the ends of the above mountain barrier, there are broad heads, *e.g.*, in Assam and Burma on the east, and in Baluchistan on the west. The same is the case in the Lower Himalayas and "in a belt of the country on the west of India extending from Gujarat through the Deccan to Coorg...In the Punjab, Rajputana and

¹ *Ibid.* p. 26.

the United Provinces, long heads predominate, but the type gradually changes as we travel eastward."¹ In certain Bengal groups broad heads are common, e.g., in the Mahomedans and Chandals of Eastern Bengal. Broad heads are more marked among the Kayasths and reach their "maximum development among the Bengal Brahmans." "In Peninsular India, south of the Vindhya ranges, the prevalent type seems to be mainly long-headed or medium-headed, short heads appearing only in the western zone of the country referred to above. But the population of the coast has been much affected by the foreign influence, Malayan or Indo-Chinese on the east; Arab, Persian, African, European and Jewish on the west, and the mixed types thus produced cannot be brought under any general formula."²

(B) *Measurement of the Nose.*

Next to head measurements, we have those of the nose.

The Nasal Index. These give us the *Nasal Index* which like the cephalic index is "the relation of the breadth of the nose to its length." When the length and breadth are equal—as frequently among the Dravidians—the index is 100. The results of nasal measurements are grouped under three heads:

1. "Narrow or fine (leptorrhine) noses in which the width is less than 70 per cent of the length.
2. Broad (platyrrhine) noses in which the proportion rises to 85 per cent and over.
3. Medium (mesorrhine) noses which have an index from 70 to 85."³

Among the Negroes and typical Dravidians, broad noses form a striking feature and the nasal index "records its proportions with unimpeachable accuracy." Where

... races with different nasal proportions have intermarried* the index marks "the degree of crossing" that has taken place. So, the nasal index is accepted by all anthropologists as one of the best tests of racial affinity.

Broad nose is common in Madras, the Central Provinces and Chota Nagpur; fine noses are confined to the Punjab and Baluchistan. The rest of India has medium noses. But the range of the index is great, varying from 122 to 53 in some individual cases. Even "the mean indices of different groups differ considerably in the same part of the country."

The following are the average nasal proportions of some people :

The Mal Paharia tribe of Bengal	...	94.5
The pastoral Gujars of the Punjab	...	66.9
The Sikhs	...	68.8
The Bengal Brahmans	...	70.4
The Bengal Kayasths	...	70.4

"In other words, the typical Dravidian, as represented by the Mal Paharia has a nose as broad in proportion to its length as the Negro, while this feature in the Indo-Aryan group can fairly bear comparison with the noses of sixty-eight Parisians, measured by Topinard, which gave an average of 69.4. Even more striking is the curiously close correspondence between the gradations of racial type indicated by the nasal index and certain of the social data ascertained by independent inquiry..... Thus, for those parts of India where there is an appreciable strain of Dravidian blood,...the law of the caste organization is that the social status of the members of a particular group varies in inverse ratio to the mean relative width of their nose."¹ The following is an ascending list of the grade of society in

1. *Ibid.* p. 28.

Behar or the United Provinces. In the case of the people in this list, the average nasal index also varies in an inverse order, i.e., the first class of people, the lowest in the graded social scale, have "the finest (or the narrowest) nose" and the last class which is higher in social status has "the coarsest (or the broadest) nose."

1. The casteless (i.e., lowest or depressed) tribes, Kols, Korwas, Mundas and the like, who have not yet entered the Brahmanical system.
2. The vermin-eating Musahars and the leather-dressing Chamars.
3. The fisher castes Bauri, Bind and Kewat.
4. The pastoral Goala.
5. "The cultivating Kurmi and a group of cognate castes from whose hands a Brahman may take water."¹
6. The trading Khatris.
7. The land-holding Babhans.
8. The upper crust^{*} of Hindu society.

Here, "the two sets of observation—the social and the physical—bear out and illustrate each other." (Risley does not give the reason why the nose of the lower classes are fine or narrow and those of the upper classes coarse or broad. I think that the reason is, that the higher classes are always clean and frequently wash and in this process of washing, the noses also are cleaned both from within and without. The frequent cleaning from within tends to broaden the nose).

There is one other character also in which the social and physical observations bear out and illustrate each other. It is that of matrimonial groupings, with regard

1 *Ibid.* p. 28.

to which Mr. J. F. McLennan introduced the use of the word "exogamous": This character of matrimonial grouping "varies in a definite relation to the gradations of physical type. Within a certain range of nasal proportions, these sub-divisions are based almost exclusively on the totem. Along with a somewhat finer (or narrower) form of nose, groups called after villages and larger territorial areas, or bearing the name of certain tribal or communal officials, begin to appear, and above these again we reach the eponymous saints and heroes who in India, as in Greece and Rome, are associated with a certain stage of Aryan progress."¹

Perhaps the following table will explain what is meant:—

Type of Nose.	Groups named after	Marriage in or out
1. Fine or Narrow Noses.	(Lower) Groups named after villages and ter- ritorial areas.	Exogamous.
2. Medium Noses	(Little higher) Groups named after tribal or communal officials.	Less Exoga- mous.
3. Broad or Coarse Noses	(Higher) Groups named after eponymous saints and heroes.	Endoga- mous.

Why is this so? Risley does not explain. Perhaps, we may say, that the third group, the highest in the scale, having family or group pride of purity of blood, do not marry out or are endogamous, and, so, they are well nigh sure of getting wives from their own groups and they do not much care for outward appearance of having fine noses and care much for cleaning and washing, and, in this washing and cleaning process, they broaden their noses while cleaning

¹ *Ibid.* p. 28.

them daily from within. The first or lowest group in the scale have not much the idea of purity of blood and they marry out. To do so and to attract alien women (*i.e.*, women of other groups, exogamous groups), they care less for cleanliness but for outward appearance. They clean their noses less frequently than the higher classes, and so let them remain fine or narrow.

(C) *Measurement of the Face.*

The face of the Mongolians is peculiarly flat. This flatness is due to "the formation of the cheek-bones, the margins of the bony sockets of the eye, and the root of the nose." The flatness cannot be properly measured and expressed because the cheek bones of living men cannot be properly measured. But Mr. Oldfield Thomas has devised "a method of measuring the relative projection of the root of the nose above the level of eye-sockets, which expresses very accurately the degree of flatness of face met with in different types....The principle is...to determine the comparative elevation of the lowest point on the root of the nose above the plane of the eye-sockets."¹ To do this, "mark a point on the front surface of the outer edge of each orbit and a third point on the centre of the root of the nose where it is lowest." Then measure "the distance between the two orbital dots...in a direct line and also the distance from each of these to the dot on the bridge of the nose. The former dimension (*i.e.*, the distance between the two orbital dots) represents the base of a triangle, the latter (*i.e.*, the two distances from the orbital dots to the dot on the centre of the root) form the sides of the triangle."² "The index is formed by calculating the percentage of the latter dimension on the former. If, as is, sometimes the

1 *Ibid.* p. 29.

2 *Ibid.*

case, the bridge of the nose is let down so low that it does not project at all beyond the level of the orbits, the two dimensions will obviously be of equal length and the index will be 100. If, on the other hand, the elevation of the bridge of the nose is marked, the index may be as high as 127 or 130."¹ Mr. Thomas divided the index obtained by his above device into three classes :

- | | | |
|-------------|-----|------------------|
| 1. Platypic | ... | ... below 107.5 |
| 2. Mesopic | ... | ... 107.5 to 110 |
| 3. Pro-opic | ... | ... above 110 |

Mr. Risley has adopted in India the following groupings :

- | | | |
|-------------|-----|------------------|
| 1. Platypic | ... | ... below 110 |
| 2. Mesopic | ... | ... 110 to 112.9 |
| 3. Pro-opic | ... | ... 113 and over |

The Mongoloid people of Assam and the Eastern Himalayas who have a very flat face fall under the first class and they are easily distinguished from the broad-headed races of Baluchistan, Bombay and Coorg. This measurement also distinguishes the Indo-Aryans from the Aryo-Dravidians.²

(D) *Measurement of the Stature.*

Stature in Europe and India. Topinard classifies stature in four groups:

1. Tall stature: 170 c.m. (5 ft. 7 inches) and over.
2. Above the average: 165 c.m. (5 ft. 5 inches) and under 170 c.m., i.e., under 5 ft. 7 inches.
3. Below the average: 160 c.m. (5 ft. 3 inches) and under 165 c.m. (5 ft. 5 inches).
4. Small stature: under 160 c.m. (5 ft. 3 inches).

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.* p. 30.

It is generally believed that statures differ in different races. But this influence of race is itself affected by various other causes, such as

Climature	Soil
Elevation	Food-supply
Habits of life	Occupation
Natural or artificial selection.	

The influence of these causes is greater in Europe than in India.

In civilized countries, city life shortens the stature and leads to physical degeneracy. India has less of city life than Europe. Most of the people, about 50 to 84 per cent, live on agriculture and so lead an out-door healthy life. Again, the factory industries here, where the people are not regular in daily attendance, and, even when in attendance, have occasional intervals for smoking etc., and where they generally go to their native countries, at least every year or every two years, the strain upon the growth of the stature is not so much as in Europe. So, the tendency is for a tall stature. So, opposed to the factory weavers, the home hand-loom weavers "show the lowest mean stature yet recorded", because they are confined in the close and comparatively unhealthy atmosphere of the house, which is not usually clean and kept open to air and light.

The hill-dwellers are generally shorter than those living on the plains. (This is perhaps due to the fact, that they have often to stoop down while climbing). In hills again, those on the higher hills have a larger stature than those on the lower hills. The reason attributed is that the climate of the higher hills being very rigorous, only allows the healthy and robust to live and kills the less vigorous.

Again, in towns on lower levels, where there is a general prevalence of malaria and other unhealthy causes, the

stature is shorter than at places free from malaria.

On the whole, "race differences play a larger part here than in Europe" in the matter of the distribution of stature. Baluchistan, Punjab and Rajputana have the tallest statures in India. These go down when we proceed to the Gangetic valley. Then proceeding further the shortest statures are found among the Mongoloid people of the hills on the border of Assam. In southern India, the statures are shorter than in the north. Among the Negritos of the Andaman islands in the south, the average stature is as low as 4 ft. 10½ inches.

CHAPTER II.

The seven physical types.

The people of the Indian Empire can be divided into seven main physical types:

1. The Turko-Iranian¹ type. The Baloch, Brahui and Afghans of the Baluchistan Agency and the North-West Frontiers represent this type, which is "probably formed by the fusion of Turki and Persian elements"—the Turki element predominating. They have their characteristics as follows:

- (a) Stature—above mean, varying from 162 in the Makran Baloch to 172 in the Achakzai Pathan.
- (b) Complexion—fair.
- (c) Eyes—generally dark, but in some cases grey.
- (d) Hair—plentiful on face.

1 The Iranian Element is known as the *Taziks*. *Vide* my paper "The Physical Character of the Arabs, Their Relations with Ancient Persians." (*Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay* of 1919. *Vide* my *Anthropological Papers*, Part III, pp. 30-31). This Iranian element is also spoken of as *Parsiwan*. (*Vide* "The Races of Afghanistan," by Dr. W. H. Bellew, pp. 109-10.)

- (e) Head—broad, "the mean indices varying from 80 in the Baloch of the Western Punjab to 85 in the Hazara of Afghanistan."¹
- (f) Nose—moderately narrow, prominent and very long. Nasal indices vary from 67.8 to 80.5. Some individual indices are higher even upto 111. These abnormalities may be due to the importation of Abyssinian slaves. "The one feature indeed that strikes one in these people is the portentous length of their noses, and it is probably this peculiarity that has given rise to the tradition of the Jewish origin of the Afghans."² Some of the Scythian coins exhibit it in a marked degree. As M. Ujfalvy has pointed out, the lineaments of Kadphises II survive in the Dards of to-day."³

2. The Indo-Aryan type. It is represented by the Rajputs, Khattris, and Jats, living in the Punjab, Rajputana and Kashmir. The type resembles that of the traditional Aryan colonists of India. They have:

- (a) Stature, tall
- (b) Complexion, fair.
- (c) Eyes, dark.
- (d) Hair, plentiful on face.
- (e) Head, long, the average varying from 72.4 in the Rajputs to 74.4 in the Awan.
- (f) Nose, narrow and prominent, but not very long.

1 *Ibid.* p. 34. Long heads among some lead to the suspicion of mixture of blood.

2 *Ibid.* p. 35. In this connection, I beg to draw attention to a new theory. Mr. Fitzgerald Lee thinks that the Israelites came from America via the Behring Straits, and, on their way to Palestine left their people in Afghanistan. ("The Greater Exodus and the Cradle of the Semitic Race." *Vide my Glimpse of the B. B. K. A. S.*, pp. 136-138.)

3 *Ibid.* p. 35.

"The Indo-Aryans have the highest stature recorded in India, ranging from 174.8 in the Rajput to 165.8 in the Arora. Individual measurements of Rajputs rise to 192.4 and of Jats (Sikhs) to 190.5. Stature alone, therefore, were other indications wanting, would serve to differentiate the Indo-Aryan from the Aryo-Dravidian type of the United Provinces and Bihar¹."

* The most important point in connection with this type is "the great uniformity of type and the very slight differences between the higher and the lower groups." Socially, the higher group of the Rajputs of Udaipur and Merwar is widely divided from the scavenging Chuhra of the Punjab, but, physically, they are moulded in the same way. It is true that the higher Rajputs are a little higher in stature than the lower Chuhra, but that is due to the better food, occupation and habits of life of the former. Stature is very susceptible to influences of this kind. "Sikhism has transformed the despised Chuhra into the soldierly Mazhabi. Who shall say that military service might not have the same effect on groups belonging to the lower social strata of the Punjab, whose physical endowment is hardly inferior to that observed at the top of the scale?"²

3. The Scytho-Dravidian type. It is represented by the Mahratha Brahmins, the Kunbis, and the Coorgs of Western India. In this type, there is "a mixture of Scythian and Dravidian elements, the former predominating in the higher groups, the latter in the lower." They have :

- (a) Stature, medium.
- (b) Complexion, fair.
- (c) Hair, scanty on face,
- (d) Head, broad.
- (e) Nose, moderately fine and not very long.³

1 *Ibid.* p. 36.

2 *Ibid.* p. 36.

3 *Ibid.* p. 42.

The Seytho-Dravidian type is represented in Western India "in a belt extending from Gujarat to Coorg." It is represented at one extreme of this belt by the Nagar Brahmans of Gujarat and at the other, by the Coorgs of Coorg. The Nagar Brahmans, Deshasth Brahmans, the Prabhus, the Maratha Kunbis, the Shenvi Brahmans, the Katkaris, the Mahars and the Coorgs form this type.

This type "is clearly distinguished from the Turko-Iranian by a lower stature, a greater length of head, a higher nasal index, a shorter nose and a lower orbito-nasal index. All of these characters, except perhaps the last, may be due to a varying degree of intermixture with the Dravidians. In the higher types the amount of crossing seems to have been slight; in the lower the Dravidian elements are more pronounced, while in the Katkari the long head and wide nose are conspicuous."¹

4. The Aryo-Dravidian or Hindustani type. It is seen "in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, in parts of Rajputana, in Bihar and Ceylon, and represented in its upper strata by the Hindustani Brahman and in its lower by the Chamâr."² This type is "probably the result of the inter-mixture of the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian types—the Indo-Aryan element predominating in the lower and the Dravidian in the higher groups." They have:

- (a) Stature, below the average given above.
- (b) Complexion, varying from lightest brown to black.
- (c) Head, long with a tendency to medium.
- (d) Nose, from medium to broad. It is always broader than that of the Indo-Aryans.

"The type is essentially a mixed one, yet its characteristics are readily definable, and no one would take even an upper class Hindustani for a pure Indo-Aryan or a

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 37-38.

² *Ibid.* p. 33.

Chamar for a genuine Dravidian".¹ "The distinctive feature of the type, the character which gives the real clue to its origin and stamps the Aryo-Dravidian as racially different from the Indo-Aryan, is to be found in the proportions of the nose. The average index runs in an unbroken series from 73 in the Bhuinhar or Babhan of Hindustan and 73.2 in the Brahman of Bihar to 86 in the Hindustani Chamar and 88.7 in the Musahar² of Bihar." Thus, the lower the person in social ladder, the higher the average nasal index.

In the case of stature also there is a gradation according to position in the social order. The Brahmans and Bhuinhars, who form the higher class, are taller than the Musahars¹, the range coming down from 166 to 159.

5. The Mongolo-Dravidian or Bengali type. It is seen in Lower Bengal and Orissa. It comprises the Brahmans and Kayasths of Bengal, the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, and other groups peculiar to Bengal. There is "probably a blend of Dravidian and Mongoloid elements with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood in the higher groups."² It has :

- (a) Stature, medium.
- (b) Complexion, dark.
- (c) Head, broad.
- (d) Hair, plentiful on face.
- (e) Nose, medium with a tendency to broad.

This is "one of the most distinctive types in India, and its members may be recognized at a glance throughout the wide area where their remarkable aptitude for clerical pursuits and their keen sense of family obligations have procured them employment".³

1 The Musahar is the lowest in the scale. He is so called because he eats field rats (mas, i.e., mouse).

2 *Ibid* p. 32.

3 *Ibid*. p. 39.

The broad head of the Bengalis with an index varying from 79 in the Brahman to 83 in the Rājibansi Magh, "effectually differentiates the type from the Indo-Aryans or Aryo-Dravidians."¹ "The inference as to racial affinity suggested by the measurements (the cephalic index) are in entire accord with the evidence afforded by features and general appearance."² For example, the Rājibansi Magh of Chittagong who serves as a cook in European households in India, and, so, is lower in the scale of social ladder, resembles closely in appearance the upper class Bengali of Eastern Bengal who is higher in the social scale. This fact of the general appearance is supported by the measurements of the head also, which are well-nigh the same.

"The mean proportions of the nose range from 70.3 in the Brahmans and Kayasths to 84.7 in the Mals of Western Bengal and 80 in the Kochh. The number of high individual indices brings out the contrast with the Indo-Aryans and points to the infusion of Dravidian blood."³

6. The Mongoloid type of the Himalayas, Nepal, Assam and Burma. It is "represented by the Kanets of Lahoul and Kulu, the Lepchas of Darjeeling, the Limbus, Murmis and Gurungs of Nepal, the Bodo of Assam and the Burmese." It has

- (a) Stature, small or below average.
- (b) *Complexion, dark with a yellowish tinge.
- (c) Head, broad.
- (d) Hair, scanty on face.
- (e) Nose, fine to broad.
- (f) Face, characteristically flat.
- (g) Eyelids, often oblique.⁴

The Northern and Eastern frontiers of India touch the Mongolian countries. Thus, the types of the people on

¹ *Ibid.* p. 89.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 32-33.

these frontiers are affected by Mongolian characteristics. The Assamese and the Burmese are generally all Mongoloid. The Himalayas, spoken of as "the human equator of the earth", offers an effective barrier against the spread of the Mongolians to the south. In the case of the lower Himalayas, while in the west, there is a good deal of intermixture of Indo-Aryan elements, in the east, the Mongolian type prevails. The reason is this: The warlike Punjabis and Hindustanis in the west, invaded the lower Himalaya hills and made their type prevalent, overcoming the Mongolian type from the north. But in the east, the Bengalis and the Assamese being less warlike, surrendered, in their turn, to Mongolian inroads and gradually assumed Mongolian type. The Mongolians from the north would have made more frequent inroads and stayed here longer, but the heat of the Indian plains was too much for these people from the colder countries. Hence, the heat of the plains was a check against further and frequenter inroads and a longer stay of the Mongolians here.

7. The Dravidian type. It is "extending from Ceylon to the valley of the Ganges and pervading the whole of Madras, Hyderabad, the Central Provinces, most of Central India and Chutia Nagpur". This type is represented "by the Paniyans of South Indian Hills and the Sentals of Chutia Nagpur."¹ It is probably the original type of the people of old India, modified to some extent by "the admixture of Aryan, Scythian and Mongoloid elements."² They have their

- (a) Stature, short or below mean.
- (b) Complexion, very dark, approaching black.
- (c) Head, long.
- (d) Hair, plentiful with a tendency to curl.
- (e) Eyes, dark.
- (f) Nose, "very broad, sometimes depressed at the root, but not so as to make the face appear flat."³

1 *Ibid.* p. 83.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

The Dravidians are the most primitive of the Indian races. They have spread generally from the Vindhya mountains to Cape Comorin in the south. On the east and west, the Ghats form the limits of their head quarters. On the north, they are seen in the direction of the Aravalli hills on the one hand, and in that of the Rajmahal hills on the other. A Dravidian can be recognized if carefully seen by "his black skin, his squat figure and the negro-like proportions of his nose."¹ They can be distinguished by these features. in the streets of Calcutta, Rangoon and Singapore where they are seen as labourers. In sequestered regions of "fever-haunted jungles without road, they have better preserved their type, because there they were less affected by outside influences. The Parayans or Pariahs of Southern India form a prominent group of this type. Though now hated, "their traditions point to the probability that their status was not always so degraded."² This view is supported by the fact that those groups of the Kadir, Mudduddan and Paniyam with substantially broader noses still enjoy socially a higher rank.³

Limitations of
the above scheme
of divisions.

Three facts must be borne in mind in the consideration of the question of the places of these types.

1. Firstly, the regions of one type, as given above, cannot be described as sharply ending at one place, and that of another beginning at exactly this or that place. The regions insensibly merge into one another.⁴

2. Secondly, it must not be taken, that any one type exclusively occupies any particular part of the country named; e.g., when Madras is spoken of as Dravidian or Bengal as Mongolo-Dravidian, we must not take it, that all the people of Madras are Dravidians or that all Bengalis

1 *Ibid.* p. 43. 2 *Ibid.* p. 45. 3 *Ibid.* 4 *Ibid.* p. 83.

are Mongolo-Dravidians. From remote times, there has always been running a stream of people going from East to West and from North to South. So, there has been occurring a mixture of types, the higher types generally going towards the territories of the lower types. In such moments, people of the Indo-Aryan type have gone to all parts of India, here and there, as merchants, conquerors, priests, or land-owners. But, in so doing, they have always to some extent, preserved their original type-characteristics and have received certain social recognition as preserving some purity of descent from the first immigrants. Though they leave unmistakable traces of their presence in the new regions, in the end, they are generally absorbed in the main population.¹

These incursions of the Indo-Aryan type into various parts of the country (a) have been recorded in the caste or family traditions of the people who have so gone to other tracts and these traditions have been often supported by (b) historical documents and (c) physical characteristics. People of the Indo-Aryan type who have gone to the south, far away from their original settlement in North-western India, can very easily be distinguished from the mass of people in their adopted regions by their characteristic features.

3. Thirdly, the third fact to be noticed is, that the names given to the above seven types "beg the highly speculative question of the elements which have contributed to their formation. The names are given because there must be some distinctive names for the types. One may say that the names may be based on physical characters but that will be only mentioning "bundles of formulæ". So, when one has to name the types, they must be named so as to express them in their "most telling form."²

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 33-34.

² *Ibid.* p 34.

Coming to the question of the origin of the above
 Origins of Types. seven types, we are not on a sure ground.
 We have to be guided by no written records, but (a) by tradition, (b) by conjecture, and (c) by the assumption warranted by the history of the East, that "in those distant ages, types were formed by much the same processes as those that we find in operation to-day."¹ With the help of these, we have to be satisfied with what may be seen as "consistent and plausible explanation of the ethnic conditions which prevail at the present time."²

There were various theories about the origin of the
 Origin of the Dravidian type. Dravidians, who form the oldest type, distinguished by "low stature, black skin, long heads, broad noses, and relatively long fore-arm."

Huxley thought that they may be related to the
 a) Huxley's view. aborigines of Australia. The points, advanced in support of this theory of relation, were :

1. The above physical characters, which were, to a great extent, common to the Dravidians and the Australian aborigines.
2. "Linguistic affinities, especially the resemblance between the numerals in Mundari and in certain Australian dialects."
3. "The survival of some abortive forms of the boomerang in Southern India."³
4. The belief of "a submerged continent of Lemuria," extending from Madagascar to the Malay Archi-

1 *Ibid.* p. 46.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Boomerang is a wooden missile weapon used by the Australians.

pelago, and linking India with Africa on the one side and Australia on the other.¹

But the examination of the crania of the Australians and the Dravidians by Sir William Turner, the great English craniologist, upsets this theory

Sir William Hunter had advanced another theory

(b) Sir William about these Dravidians in his "Indian Hunter's view. Empire." He divided the Dravidians into:

- (a) The Kolarians who spoke dialects allied to Mundari.
- (b) The Dravidians proper who spoke languages of the Tamil stock.

(a) The Kolarians came from the North-east and lived in the northern part of the Vindhya tableland. (b) The Dravidians proper came from the North-western passes and conquered and dispersed the Kolarians and then advanced towards the South of India. (a) The view of the descent of the Kolarians from the North-east is based upon the ground of a supposed recognition of Mongolian characteristics among the Dravidian people of Chutia (Chota Nagpur). (b) The view of the descent of the Dravidians proper, coming from the North-west, is based upon the ground that there is a supposed affinity between the Brahui dialect of Baluchistan and the languages of Southern India. This view of the trans-Himalayan origin of the Dravidians is supported by one fact: The Kolarians and Dravidians, if they differ, differ, not in physical type, but only in linguistic matters. But, in spite of that, it does not seem probable, that "a body of very black and conspicuously long-headed types should have come from the one region of the earth which is peopled exclusively by races with

1 *Ibid.* p. 46.

broad heads and yellow complexions."

Risley's own view is that, so far as is known they are the earliest aboriginal inhabitants of India itself. This view is supported by the following facts:

- (a) Their present geographical distribution.
- (b) "The marked uniformity of physical characters among the more primitive members of the group.
- (c) "Their animistic religion.
- (d) "Their distinctive languages.
- (e) "Their stone monuments, and
- (f) "Their retention of a primitive system of totemism."¹

The origin of the Indo-Aryans.

A number of questions have hung around the name of the Aryans. Some of them are:

- (a) "Whether anything that can properly be described as an Aryan race ever existed."
- (b) Whether their "heads were long, according to Penka, or short according to Sergi."
- (c) Whether their home was Asia or Europe, whether Scandinavia, Lithuania, South-Eastern Russia, Central Asia or India.
- (d) "Whether the term Aryan is anything more than a philological expression denoting the heterogeneous group of peoples whose languages belong to the Aryan family of speech."²

But all these questions may be laid aside. We are at present concerned with "the fact that there exists in the Pun-

1 *Ibid.* p 47.

2 *Ibid.* p. 47. In this connection, we must remember, that the Iranian king Darius seems to take in his inscriptions, some pride for being an Aryan.

jab and Rajputana at the present day, a definite physical type, represented by the Jats and Rajputs, which is marked by a relatively long (dolicho-cephalic) head; a straight, finely cut (leptorrhine) nose, a long, symmetrically narrow face, a well-developed forehead, regular features, and a high facial angle. The stature is high and the general build of the figure is well proportioned, being relatively massive in the Jats and relatively slender in the Rajputs. Throughout the group, the predominant colour of the skin is a very light transparent brown, with a tendency towards darker shades in the lower social strata. Except among the Meos and Minas of Rajputana, where a strain of Bhil blood may perhaps be discerned, the type shows no signs of having been modified by contact with the Dravidions; its physical characteristics are remarkably uniform; and the geographical conditions of its habitat tend to exclude the possibility of intermixture with the black races of the south. In respect of their social characters, the Indo-Aryans, as I have ventured to call them, are equally distinct from the bulk of the Indian people. They have not wholly escaped the contagion of caste;¹ but its bonds are less rigid among them than with the other Indian races; and the social system retains features which recall the more fluid organization of the tribe. Marriage in particular is not restricted by the hard and fast limits which caste tends to impose, but is regulated within large groups by the principle of hypergamy or 'marrying up' which was supposed to govern the connubial relations of the four original classes (varna) in the system described by Manu. Even now Rajputs and Jats occasionally intermarry, the Rajputs taking wives from the Jats but refusing to give their own maidens in return. What is

1 In this connection, *vide* my paper on "Was there any Institution in Ancient Iran like that of Caste in India?" (Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII, No. 8, pp. 816-822. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part IV, pp. 199-205.)

the exception to-day is said to have been the rule in earlier times. In short, both social and physical characters are those of a comparatively homogeneous community which has been but little affected by crossing with alien races."¹

The mode of
its entering into
India.

We saw above that the Indo-Aryan type is uniform. That can be accounted for in two ways:

- (1) They were indigenous to the Punjab, or
- (2) They came from the North-west "in a compact body or in a continuous stream of families." One thing is certain that they came neither by sea nor from the Eastern end of the Himalayan range.

This view led to "the theory that Punjab was the cradle of the Aryan race."² But this was not generally accepted, and now, it is generally believed, that the Indo-Aryan had a foreign origin. They came from the North-west at a time when the Dravidians occupied the valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna. One may say, that the Dravidians had spread to Baluchistan on the west, because the Brāhui there speak "a supposed Dravidian speech", while all the people round about speak Iranian languages. "But the present speakers of Brahūi are certainly not Dravidians by race: and we find no traces of Dravidian blood among the Indo-Aryans of to-day". So, we have to understand that probably, "when the Indo-Aryans entered the Punjab they brought their own women with them, and were not reduced to the necessity of capturing Dravidian brides."³

Now, it seems that the physical and social conditions of the Borderland of India were not what they are now. "The frontier strip" must not have been "a mere tangle of barren hills and narrow valleys". Had they been such, Western people would have found it difficult to enter India. It seems,

1 *Ibid* p 48

2 *Ibid*. p. 48.

3 *Ibid*. p. 49.

as shown by meteorologists like Blandford and scientists like Vredenburg, Huttington¹ and others, that the Borderlands, in those early times, were pretty, well-watered and fertile and so offered all necessary facilities to the Aryans to enter into India with their families.² The *gorbands* (or *gabarbands*, i.e., dams built by the Fire-worshippers or Zoroastrians), the ruins of which are seen in some parts of Baluchistan, especially "in the desolated valley of the State of Khara" "which mark the edges of ancient terraced fields", lead to show that, the plains being fully cultivated, the growing demand of the growing populations had carried cultivation from the over-cultivated plains to the hills.³ Gradually, the climate of the country having changed, the regions became rainless and dessicated.

Thus, we see that, in ancient times, the Borderland of India which is now much desolate was in a condition that could attract migrations from the West and pass on the migrating people to the fertile fields of Punjab and other regions. As long as the intervening lands were fertile, the migrations continued. They began to cease when the intervening regions began to be rainless and waterless. The place of continuous peaceful migrations was then begun to be taken occasionally by invasions, like those of the Greeks, the Scythians (Sakas), Arabs, Moghals, etc.⁴ With these invasions from the West, came Empires (Imperium). So, just as we have the proverbial words "Ex Orient Lux", we have "Ex Occidente Imperium". Some writers attribute the desolation of the intervening countries to the misrule of

1 *Vide* his "Pulse of Asia."

2 That is the view of the explorer Huttington, who, in his "Pulse of Asia", proposed what is called "the Bread and Butter Theory" for the migration of tribes.

3 *Ibid.* p. 51.

4 *Ibid.* p. 52.

rulers, but that is not the main cause. "In Persia, as in India, nature is stronger than man.¹"

Besides the Aryan type of people, we have what is called the Aryo-Dravidian type, a mixture of the Aryan and Dravidian types. What is their origin? There are two views about them. (a) Some say: "The original Indo Aryans outgrew their settlements on the Indus and threw off swarms of emigrants who passed down the Ganges valley, modifying their type as they went by alliances with the Dravidian inhabitants²". (b) The view held forth, at first, by Dr. Hoernle and accepted by Risley, is, that there was a second wave of Aryan-speaking people, the remote ancestors of the Aryo-Dravidians of to-day, impelled by some ethnic upheaval or driven forward by the change of climate in Central Asia, to which we have referred to above³". They came *via* Gilgit and Chitral and established themselves in the plains of the Ganges and Jumna, the sacred middle-land (Madhyadesa) of Vedic tradition". Here, they came into contact with the Dravidians and "the stress of that contact" created castes. Here the Vedas were composed and "the orthodox ritual and usage" arose. Dr. Grierson supports this view in his "Chapter on Languages in his Report of the Census of India of 1901." Risley supports this theory by his "record of physical characters." This second group came by a way which prevented them from bringing their women with them. They, men of the fair, stronger Aryan race, married women of the weaker, black-skinned Dravidian race. The Aryo-Dravidians of Hindustan and Behar are the result of these unions. Anthropometric measurements support this theory.⁴

1 *Ibid.* p. 53.

2 *Ibid.* p. 54.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 53-54.

4 *Ibid.* p. 55.

In Bengal, the Indo-Aryan element is thin; "the bulk of the population is Dravidian, modified by a strain of Mongoloid blood" which is strong in the East and weak in the West. In Bengal even there are the Brahmins and the Kayasths, but their ancestors had gone there, as said by their tradition, from Kanauj.

The Scytho-Dravidian type. Its history. We have so far spoken of two, out of the three following foreign elements in the Indian people:

1. The Indo-Aryans, which had possessed "a high degree of purity in the Punjab and Rajputana" but had "an admixture of Dravidian blood in Hindustan and Bihar."
2. The Mongoloid race, whose element was stronger in the East, but in Bengal and Assam, mixing with the Dravidians, they formed a characteristic type.
3. The third element is the Scytho-Dravidian type. "Long after the settlement of the Indo-Aryans in the Punjab, successive swarms of nomadic people, vaguely designated Sakas or Scythians, forced a way into India from the west, and established their dominion over portions of the Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, Rajputana and Central India. The impulse which started them on their wanderings may be traced in some instances to tribal upheavals in far distant China, while in other cases hordes already on the move were pushed forward from Central Asia¹."

Their origin. In the times of the Achæmenian kings of Persia, the Scythians, who were known to the Chinese as Sse, occupied the regions lying be-

¹ Ibid. p. 26.

tween the lower course of the Seltis or Jazartes and Lake Balkash". Cyrus had taken their king Amorges prisoner, but soon after, Sparethra, the wife of Amorges, gathered an army, fought with Cyrus and released her husband. In spite of this, the Scythians were under the rule of the Persians and formed the twentieth satrapy of the Persian Empire. Later on, they fought on the side of the Persians at the battle of Arbela against Alexander the Great, but not as their dependents but as allies. At the time of Graeco-Bactrian monarchy, about 165 B.C., they occupied Sogdiana and Transoxiana. When the Huns put the Yuechi to flight, the latter in turn drove the above Scythians from their regions. Thus driven, they (the Scythians) invaded Bactria, in which invasion they were joined by the Parthians. The resemblance between the Scythian coins of India and the coins of the Parthian kings is said to be due to this alliance.

After the above occupation of Bactria for some time, they (the Scythians) were driven, even from there, by the Yuechi. Thereupon, they crossed the Paraponisus, and took possession of the countries of Segistan, Arachosia and Drangiana, which all came to be known as Sakastan. But in 25 B.C., they were again pressed from behind by the Yuechi. Thus pressed and driven, they entered into India and founded a kingdom in Punjab. They seem to have marched towards India from Baluchistan and Kachhi. Their march towards India, step by step, was in the following order:—

1. In the time of the Achæmenian Cyrus who took their king prisoner, they occupied the country between the lower course of the Jaxartes and Balkash. In the Behistun sculptures, there is the figure of Sakaka, a Scythian king.

2. In 165 B.C., they occupied Sogdiana and Transoxiana.

3. Then, driven out from there by the Yuechi, they occupied Bactria. The Parthians had joined them in this occupation.

4. In 125 B.C., they occupied all the regions comprising Segistan, Arachosia and Drangiana.

5. In 25 B.C., again driven away from there by the Yuechi, they came to India and founded a kingdom in the Punjab.

In these marches or migrations, we find, that the Huns pressed and pushed the Yuechi and the Yuechi pressed and pushed the Scythians or Sakas.

1. "The Indo-Scythian Yuechi, afterwards known as the Tokhari, while settled in Eastern Turkestan to the south of the Tian Shan range, were defeated by the Hing-nu or Huns in 201-265 B.C."¹

2. They, flying towards the West and crossing the mountains, conquered Bactria which was then occupied by the Tajiks. Some remained in Eastern Turkestan and were known as Siao or Little Yuechi. Those who proceeded towards Bactria were known by the Chinese as Ta or Great Yuechi.

3. The Yuechi who occupied Central Asia and the North-West of India for five centuries from 130 B.C. to 425 A.C. The Hindus know them as Sakas and Turushkas. The dynastic title of their king was Kushan.

4. Kitolo, the Chief of the Great Kushans who is identified with the Kidara of the coins, being pressed and pushed on by the Ephthalites, crossed the Parapo-

nesus and founded the kingdom of Gandhara in 425 A.C. His son made Peshawar the capital of his country.

5. In 475, the Ephthalites captured Gandhara from the hands of the Kushans who retreated to Chitral, Gilgit and Kashmir. Just when the Kushans were establishing themselves at Gandhara, the Ephthalites who lived on the north of the Great Wall of China, but were driven away by the Juan-Juan, marched towards the West and conquered Sogdiana, Khwarizm, Bactria and the North-west of India. This was the time of the reign of Skandagupta in India (452-480 A.C.) whose Gupta kingdom was thus disrupted.¹ In India, these Ephthalites were known as Huns.² The leader of the Ephthalites or Huns who invaded Gandhara and India, and established himself as Sakala was Lakhan Udayaditya of the coins. His son Toramana (490-515) conquered Gujarat, Rajputana and a portion of the Ganges valley. His son Mihirakula (515-544) added Kashmir to his dominions, but was, in the end, defeated by the Hindu King of Malwa and Magadha.³

All the traces of the above described Scythians in India are lost. Some conjecture, that they are represented by the modern Jats and Rajputs. But, according to Risley, anthropometric measurements do not suggest this view. He thinks, that it is probable "that a none of broad-headed people may still be traced southwards from the region of the Western Punjab, in which we lose sight of the Scythians, right through the Deccan till it attains its furthest extension among the Coorgs. Is it not conceivable, that this may mark the track of the Scythians, who first occupied the great grazing country of the Western Punjab and then, pressed upon by later invaders and

1 *Vide* my paper on "The History of the Huns", *Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society*. *Vide* my *Asiatic Papers*, Part II.

2 *Ibid.* p. 68. 3 Risley's "People of India," p. 68.

finding their progress eastward blocked by the Indo-Aryans, turned towards the south, mingled with the Dravidian population and became the ancestor of the Marathas!''¹

(a) The physical type of the Marathas, (b) arguments derived from language and religion, (c) their wide ranging forays, (d) their guerilla methods of warfare etc., go to help this view.¹

1 *Ibid.* p. 59.

A NOTE ON THE MATING SEASONS AMONG MEN.¹

A recent work of some Anthropological interest,
entitled "The Family" by Dr. Müller-
Introduction. Lyer, translated by F. W. Stella Browne,
(1911), has suggested to me the subject
of this brief note. The writer discusses the questions :

1. "Whether human beings were originally tribal or familial in their customs? Did they live in separate couples and families, or, like many of the higher animals (elephants, deer, wolves) in herds or packs?"

2. "Assuming the existence of the prehistoric human herd, pack or horde, were the sexual relationships and the parental relationships within the horde *monogamous* or *promiscuous* ?"²

The writer has given us arguments, both against, and in favour of, the theory, that human beings are social and not tribal. The question is not still decided, one way or another, by scholars. On this question, mostly depends the question, whether among primitive men, there was monogamy or promiscuous sexual intercourse. If early human beings were more social and less tribal, then the probability is that they were monogamous.

Referring to natural inclination, our author says, that "the sexual impulse in human beings is 'polygamous or

¹ This paper was read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on the 18th November 1931 and printed in Journal No. 8, Vol. XIV, pp. 962-968.

rather *varietist*, i.e., that it is attracted by novelty and change". But he adds "Science has also the *duty of doubt*, where doubt is intellectually possible and permissible. Certain modern authorities have followed this duty of doubt by stating that humanity is by nature monogamous."¹

Our author, while advancing "arguments in favour of polygamous or varietist theory", thus speaks on the question of this brief note:—"Various authorities have attempted to prove that, like most other mammalian species, primitive or pre-historic mankind had a special mating season (so called time of rut or heat in the animal world) and that therefore in the earliest times, sexual congress (contact) can only have occurred at certain definite times of the year. Even to-day there are some savage tribes, it is said, among whom a mating season is as unmistakable as among the red deer and other animals. Even among civilized races, births do not occur regularly and evenly all through the year, but statistics show a distinct increase in February and March, proving that the sexual impulse, and/or liability to conception, is highest in May and June. And these *maxima* of births and conceptions are probably nothing but the remains of the primitive pairing season of our ancestors, at least this is the most obvious explanation" (pp. 45-46).

In this connection, I beg to draw attention to my paper, "Sex in Birth and Sex after Death", read before

1 P. 40. It is said that even some animals are monogamous. A species of duck known as the "mandarin duck" is known for its "marital faith". The male duck sticks to one female duck as its partner. It is said that, for this reason, the Chinese produce before a marrying couple at the time of marriage, a mandarin duck as an "emblem of constancy".

this Society, on 22nd February 1916.¹ There, I have given two following tables of birth:—

1. Table, showing the total number of *live* Births, registered in the City of Bombay, during the period of 5 years from 1909 to 1913, arranged by months.
2. A similar table for 7 years from 1909 to 1915 of the Parsi Lying in-Hospital conducted by Dr. Sir Temulji Bhicaji Nariman.

The conclusion which I have drawn in my above paper is this:—"The months that are healthy, when people feel stronger and when they have greater 'sexual activity' are the months when there are larger numbers of conception; and, consequently, there are larger numbers of births in the corresponding periods, nine months after the months of conception".² I have showed therein that the ancient Iranian beliefs as given in the Pahlavi Bundahesh indirectly supports this view.

According to the average of 5 years of our city's statistics, kindly given to me by our Municipality, October to January are the months of a larger number of births. So January to April, our winter months, are the months of sexual activity and conception. According to the figures of Sir Tehmulji's Lying-in Hospital, the months of a larger number of births are from August to January; and so, the months of "sexual activity" and conception are November to April.³ The general deduction that can be

1 *Vide* Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, No. 7, pp. 548-564. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers", Part II, pp. 201-217.

2 *Vide* Journal Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, No. 7, p. 560; *vide* my "Anthropological Papers," Part II, p. 217.

3 *Vide* my previous paper op. cit. for the figures.

drawn is that the healthier months of the year are the months of sexual activity.¹

I beg to give below a Table of Statistics kindly supplied at my request in September 1931, by the Municipal Health Officer of our city, giving the number of deaths in the different months for the five years—1909 to 1913—the same years for which I had the birth statistics. The average in black figures in the last column is calculated by me.

Table of Deaths in Bombay from 1909 to 1913 A.D.

Months.	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	Average of 5 years.
January	... 2,701	2,727	3,060	3,260	2,683	2,888.2
February	... 2,910	2,815	3,355	2,956	2,441	2,895.4
March	... 4,461	3,718	3,947	3,541	3,074	3,748.2
April	... 4,613	3,638	4,105	3,948	3,535	3,967.8
May	... 3,384	3,358	3,288	3,524	3,459	3,402.6
June	... 2,143	2,500	2,105	3,970	2,274	2,598.4
July	... 2,293	3,063	2,406	3,333	2,327	2,684.4
August	... 2,613	2,817	2,404	3,380	2,464	2,795.6
September	... 2,500	2,511	2,363	2,921	2,305	2,520
October	... 2,368	2,556	2,494	2,725	2,418	2,512.2
November	... 2,417	2,468	2,409	2,650	2,378	2,464.4
December	... 2,475	2,762	2,025	2,746	2,448	2,691.2
<hr/>						
Males	... 19,855	19,371	19,526	21,329	17,794	
Females	... 15,023	15,562	15,435	17,625	14,012	
<hr/>						
Persons	... 34,878	34,933	34,961	38,954	31,806	

I give below the average of Deaths and Births during two periods of the year (I) one from November to April, the months which are roughly and ordinarily spoken of as

¹ I have shown in my above paper that the chance of a child being born male or female, depends upon the male or female being healthier and stronger at the time of conception.

our cold season months and (II) another from May to October, the months which are ordinarily spoken of as hot months.

I—Cold Months.

Months.		Deaths.	Births.
November	...	2,464.4	1,975.8
December	...	2,691.2	2,008.2
January	...	2,886.2	1,829.2
February	...	2,895.4	1,576.4
March	...	3,748.2	1,622
April	...	3,967.8	1,490
Total	...	18,653.2	10,501.6

Average of Deaths
per month for these
6 months $(18,653.2 \div 6 =)$ 3,108.5

Average of Births
per month for these
6 months $(10,501.6 \div 6 =)$ 1,750.2.

II—Hot Months

Months		Deaths	Births
May	...	3,402.6	1,487.8
June	...	2,598.4	1,488
July	...	2,684.4	1,614.8
August	...	2,735.6	1,689.6
September	...	2,520	1,744.2
October	...	2,512.2	1,937.2
Total	...	16,453.2	9,961.6

Average of Deaths
per month for these
6 hot months $(16,453.2 \div 6 =)$ 2,742.2

Average of Births
per month for these
6 hot months $(9,961.6 \div 6 =)$ 1,660.2

We calculate from these tables the following figures:—

Monthly Average of <i>Deaths</i> during the 6 cold months November to April...	3,108.5
Monthly Average of <i>Deaths</i> during the 6 hot months May to October...	2,742.2
Monthly Average of <i>Births</i> during the 6 cold months...	1,750.2
Monthly Average of <i>Births</i> during the 6 hot months...	1,660.2

From all these considerations the conclusion we come to is this that healthy months are the months for sexual activity and consequently for conception.

This conclusion indirectly supports the conclusion come to in my former paper that the birth of male or female children depends upon the strength of the parent—male or female—at the time of conception.

I think we can draw the following inferences from these averages:—

1. The six hot months in Bombay—from May to October—are more healthy than the cold months from November to April.

2. The conceptions which take place in each of the six hot healthy months are expected to fructify and to bear fruit in the birth of children at the end of nine months in the corresponding months of the next six cold months; and the conceptions which take place in each of the six cold months are expected to fructify and to bear fruit in the birth of children at the end of nine months in the corresponding months of the next six hot months.

Thus we determine the following figures:—

- (a) The conception in the hot healthy months bear fruit in the cold months at the average of 1,750 births per month.
- (b) The conception in the cold less healthy months bear fruit in the hot month at the average of 1,660.

Thus, there are more conceptions in the hot healthy months than those in the cold months.

Of course one cannot infer from this that now-a-days there is a particular breeding season for men. Modern man has much changed from his progenitors of hundreds of thousands of years. But the figures at least suggest that there is a more fruitful season and a less fruitful season. The hot months give more conception-giving energy than the cold months.

To be fair to my subject I must say that the figures of Dr. Sir Tehmulji Bhikhaji Nariman's Parsi Lying-in Hospital, as given by me in my above referred to paper (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, No. 7, pp. 563-4 ; my "Anthropological Papers," Part II, pp. 217) do not support the conclusion I have arrived at above. According to this Hospital's figures, the figures arrived at for the above sets of six months are as follows:—The monthly average number of births for the hot six months comes to $(351 \div 6 =) 58.5$ and that for the cold six months comes to $(529.3 \div 6 =) 54.8$. According to the Parsi Hospital, the best six months of the years for the Parsi community for a higher average of births are the six months from August to January. Thus the best healthy months for conception are from February to July.

I beg to request the members of this Society to kindly bear this in mind that this paper comes not from an expert on the subject or from a statistician. I have taken the liberty of submitting a few thoughts suggested from what has been said by the above book of Mr. Maller-Lyer and in connection with the study of the view taken by the Pahlavi Bundehesh that the birth of a child being male or female depends upon the health of one of the parties, the male or female being more healthy than the other at the time of conception.

COMMEMORATION OF THE KAININS OR MAIDENS IN THE AVESTA.¹

Mr. Kalipada Mitra's paper entitled "About Buddhist Nuns," ("Indian Antiquary," Vol. LI, p. 225 ff.), has suggested to me the subject of this brief note. Mr. Mitra's paper, and the preceding paper of Mr. Lakshman Rao which it criticizes, and other writings show that in ancient India there existed both a class of married women and a class of unmarried women or maidens, who were poetesses and seers, and who, by dedicating their lives to public good, formed as it were a class of public benefactresses. Among these, those belonging to the latter class, *viz.*, the maidens, were spoken of as *bhikkhunis*, *samanis* and *pabbajitas*.

What was the case in ancient Iran? Asceticism had no place in the religious and social circles of Iran; but still there were public benefactresses, both married and unmarried, whose names have been commemorated in the long list of the calendar of Iranian saints. The *Farvardin Yasht* (Yt. XIII) treats of the Fravashis or Farohars, who stand fourth in the spiritual hierarchy of the Avesta. Every man has a Fravashi of his own. These Fravashis are, like the Pitris of the Hindus, as it were, the deified souls of the dead. Thus, the *Farvardin Yasht*, which speaks of the Fravashis of the dead, enumerates the names of the departed worthies of Iran who had served their country well. This part is, as Prof. Darmesteter says, "like a Homer's catalogue of Mazdeism." It contains as it were a calendar of all Iranian saints. In this *Yasht* we also find at the end names of

¹ This brief paper was contributed to the "Indian Antiquary," Vol. LI.

women who had served their country well and were sanctified or canonized. In this list of women, at first, we find the names of married women, and then those of *Kainins* or maidens. Two sections of the *Yasht* (ss. 141 and 142) contain names of nine *kainins* or maidens who were sanctified or canonized for good deeds. The following formula illustrates the way in which these worthy maidens are commemorated:

"*Kainyao vadhuto ashaonyao fravashim yazamaide,*" i.e., We commemorate (or invoke) the *fravashi* of the holy maid Vadhut.

Unfortunately, we are not in a position to find from the extant literature what her worthy deeds were, for which her *fravashi* was sanctified.

As to the period to which these names belong, we may say that they all belong to the pre-Parthian period of the Persian ruling dynasties. The calendar seems to have been generally closed with the invasion of Alexander. A few names are here and there identified with some known Parthian names. The name *Gastama* (गौतम) is identified by some with that of the founder of the Buddhist religion. Some take this *Gastama* to be one of the Rishis. Some scholars like Spiegel and Geldner take the word to be a common noun and not a proper noun. However, in all the circumstances, we can safely say that unmarried women or maidens were, like men, canonized or sanctified in olden times in Persia for their pious and charitable deeds.

A NOTE ON THE SHALIMAR GARDEN OF KASEMIR.¹

I have read with some interest Mr. P. P. Sirivardhan's Note on the Shalimar Gardens, in the *Maha-Bodhi* of July 1931. The author rightly says that the Kashmir gardens—Shalimar, Nishat and Nasim—were built, not by Buddhist Kings but by Moghul Emperors. Persia is said to be, as it were, the cradle of gardens, and so, the Moghul Emperors, coming from the direction of that country, introduced a special kind of gardening in India, especially in Kashmir, where Nature helped them. Mr. Witt, in his "Retreat of the Ten Thousand," says: "This charming pursuit (of gardening) had been raised almost to the rank of religious duty by Zoroaster, the founder of the Persian religion, who had taught his disciples that, when occupied in the planting and tending of trees useful to man, they were engaged in a good action well pleasing to God."²

Sir F. Younghusband himself says: "The Moghuls certainly understood such matters. They were quite right in selecting trees of formal growth and planting them on geometrical lines, the essence of a good garden being that it should form a pleasing intermediate step between the free treatment which Nature lavishes on hills and plains, fields and forests, and that necessarily artificial object a building made by the hand of man."³

I think that the Kashmir gardens, though small in

1 This paper was printed in "The Maha Bodhi" (Journal of the Maha-Bodhi Society), Vol. XXXIX, No. 10, October 1931.

2 "The Retreat of the Ten Thousand" by Prof. C. Witt, translated from the German by Francis Younghusband (1891), p. 17.

3 Kashmir by F. Younghusband.

size, strike us and please us very much—much more than other larger gardens, because they stand alone in the midst of grand beautiful nature, unaccompanied by large palatial buildings which could divert one's attention.

I had the pleasure of visiting Kashmir three times (in 1895, 1915 and 1917), and I had also the pleasure of visiting three times the celebrated Gardens of Versailles in Paris—once in 1889 and twice in 1925. It was the third visit, a long and leisurely visit on 2nd August 1925, when all the fountains were playing, that led me to conclude, that the garden of Versailles, is a copy of the gardens of Kashmir, especially the Shalimar. The Kashmir Shalimar garden is comparatively a small garden, which you can finish seeing in about quarter of an hour, but the Versailles garden is very extensive and will take more than 30 minutes to be seen well. During my previous visits, I had seen this garden principally from its upper platform, but, during my last visit I descended down the sloping gardens up to the very bottom, and a flash of thought struck me to say that it was a copy of the Moghul garden of Shalimar in Kashmir. From the point of view of its size it was, as said above, a grand and splendid copy, but, from the point of view of its beauty at the lowest final stage, it was a poor copy. The reason is this: Kashmir has, at the bottom where the sloping garden ends, its lovely expanse of the beautiful Dal Lake. Versailles garden has no such natural lake, and so, they have created an artificial lake, which, however well arranged, cannot stand comparison with the natural Dal Lake.

Now, if the Versailles garden was a copy of the Kashmir garden, who must have suggested the design of the original to the French gardeners? I think, it was the French M. Bernier (1620-1688), who must have suggested

it. He was a physician who lived in the 17th century. After travelling in several parts of the East, he joined the Court of Aurangzeb in 1659, and remained there for about 12 years. During this period, he served as a Court physician for 8 years. Once, when Aurangzeb visited Kashmir, he accompanied his retinue, in the company of a nobleman, named Danishmand. He thus speaks of the beauty of Kashmir¹: "I am charmed with Kachemere. In truth, the kingdom surpassed in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated. It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent.....It is not indeed without reason that the Moghuls called Kachemere the terrestrial paradise of the Indies.....Jehangir became so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it a place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of any other province of his mighty empire than lose Kachemere." Of the Dal Lake over which the Kashmir gardens stand, Bernier says that it "is one of the most beautiful spots in the whole world.....Perhaps in the whole world, there is no corner so pleasant as the Dal Lake." Sir F. Younghusband says, that it is "a jewel among mountains."

Now, Bernier left the Court of Aurangzeb in about 1672. On returning to Paris, he is said to have published a book of his travels.² As to Versailles it "was little more than a village, with a hunting-lodge for the royal family, when Louis XIV, pleased with the situation, and desirous of residing out of Paris, created a splendid palace which from 1672 to 1690, was the residence of the kings of France."³ So, the time of the erection of the Versailles

1 Constable's Oriental Miscellany of Original and Selected Publications, Vol. I. Bernier Travels A.D. 1658-1668 (1861), pp. 400-401.

2 Beeton's Dictionary of Universal Information. Volume on Geography and Biography.

3 *Ibid.* Vol. II.

palace and of its garden a little afterwards, seems to tally with the time of Bernier's return to Paris, and it is quite possible that Bernier, who was enamoured of the beauty of the Dal Lake of Kashmir and its gardens, may have influenced the laying out of the Versailles garden, according to the Kashmir garden.

I had the pleasure of sending to Sir Leslie Wilson, our then Governor of Bombay, for his kind acceptance, a copy of my Asiatic Papers, Part III, in 1927, when he was travelling in Kashmir. That book contains my paper on "The Mogul Emperors at Kashmir." While sending that book, I drew his attention to my above view, and I was much pleased to hear from him in reply, that his observation had led him to agree with my view. In his letter, dated "Governor's Camp, Srinagar, 8th June 1927, he kindly wrote: "I fully agree with you, as I had already observed myself, and so had other members of my party, that the Shalimar Garden very much resembled the garden of Versailles. I think this fact most undoubtedly owes its origin to Bernier who travelled much in Kashmir."

The summer palace of Peter the Great, on the shore of the Baltic, at about an hour and a half's sailing from Leningrad by river Nova, has a beautiful large garden. It is generally said, and accepted as true, that Peter the Great of Russia, the aim of whose life was to raise his country of Russia, from what he thought to be its Asiatic level to European level, and who had, therefore, imitated and imported much from Europe, and among that from France, had taken the design of his Peterhoff garden from the Versailles garden. I had the pleasure and honour of being kindly invited as a guest by the great Russian Academy of Sciences, when it celebrated the bicentenary of its foundation in September 1925. I have

thanked elsewhere, ere this, and I take this opportunity of thanking again, the Academy and the Russian Government for the kind hospitality which I enjoyed at their hands. When there, we, invited guests, scholars from all parts of the world, were, one day, taken to see the above palace and garden. I then noticed at once, not only that the Peterhoff garden was a copy of the Versailles garden but that it was a copy on a very large scale. The Shalimar garden is very small compared to the Versailles garden and much smaller—like a child before its parents—compared to the Peterhoff garden. Again, the Peterhoff garden can be taken to be a better and a more faithful copy of the Shalimar of Kashmir for one reason. The Shalimar garden of Kashmir had a beautiful large natural lake, the Dal Lake, at the base of its descending slope. The Versailles garden, having nothing like that had to be supplied with a small artificial lake. But in the case of the Russian Peterhoff garden, it had a large natural beautiful expanse of water in its Baltic Sea at its base. You can take a hasty stroll in the Kashmir Shalimar garden from one side to another in about 15 minutes at most. In Versailles you will require about half an hour or so. In Peterhoff, you must have nearly an hour to go through all its parts and admire its beautiful play of water.¹

1 For a brief account of my visit to the Peterhoff palace and garden, *vide* my Gujarati Book of Travels (Letter No. 55, pp. 245-56). For an account of my third visit to the Versailles gardens, *vide* the same book.

A GLIMPSE INTO THE HISTORY AND WORK OF THE OLD PARSEE PAN- CHAYET, THE SANHEDRIM OF THE PARSEES OF BOMBAY.

I had the pleasure of writing a brief history of the
Parsee Panchayet from the late Mr.
Introduction. S. M. Edwardes's Bombay Gazetteer.

I had also the pleasure of writing a
brief history of the community in the paper on the
Parsees in Mr. R. E. Enthoven's "Tribes and Castes of
Bombay" (Vol. III). Since then I had the pleasure of
looking into the old records of the Parsee Panchayet of
Bombay in order to write at the direction of the Trustees
of the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay a History in Guja-
rati of the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay, published
in two Volumes in all (1009 + 4 + 38) 1051 pages.

The Panchayet, under one name or another, is a
very old institution, not only of the
What is Pancha- Parsi Community, not only of India, but
yet? Its Origin. of the whole world, especially the
Aryan or Indo-European world. A recent writer puts
before us a good idea of the growth of the institution.
He says: "The government of a country by the king and
his council is the natural outcome of the obedience paid
by the common folk to the elders and the strong, in
primitive ages. The thinker and the athlete were held
in high esteem for the help they rendered to the com-
munity. Almost all the political institutions of the
world had grown out of these first principles of societies.
The constitution of the country-moot, the town-moot, and

the Witanage-moot,¹ and the relationship of the English Parliament to them, unfold the history of the "origin and growth of institutions in a general way."²

Panchayet is an Indian word, originally meaning a board or assembly of *five* (*panch*) persons. Later on, this institution did not remain confined to *five* people. Such institutions of five existed in the West also. Sir F. Pollock says:—"We are free to hold as a pious opinion that the Indian village council still known as the five (*Punchayet*).....may go back to the same origin as our own reeve and four men, who flourished in Canada to this day. Robuster faith might be needed to find more than accident in the number of *five* hearths and *five* lawful men on Hoace's estate."³

The Indian Panchayets of various castes are forms of original Village-Panchayets. Wilson seems to explain correctly the functions of the caste Panchayets, when he says that Panchayet is "a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members chosen by the parties themselves or appointed by the Civil Officers of the Government, for the determination of petty disputes among the people, especially in matters affecting the usages of caste or occupation".⁴

1 "Witanage moot (Sax. *witan*, to know, and *gemoth*, an assembly), literally signifies an assembly of wise men and was the name given to the great national council or parliament among our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, consisting of the nobles or chiefs, the largest land-holders, and the principal ecclesiastics. The powers of this council were very extensive. The idea of it was preserved, and subsequently developed till it assumed the form of our present parliament." Beeton's Dictionary of Universal Information Science and Literature, Vol. II, page 1023).

2 "Ancient Dekhan" by K. V. S. Aiyer, p. 312.

3 Quoted in Maine's Ancient Law, Ed. of 1896, note P, to Chap. VIII.

4 "Oriental Language Glossary of Terms" by H. H. Wilson.

Governor Abercrombie once spoke of the Parsi Panchayet as "the Panchat or General Assembly of Parsees for the settling of private disputes and the internal management of the Parsee caste".

Sometimes, simply the word Panch is used for Panchayet.¹ This word has given us the significant Indian proverb "Panch kahê so kiyê" (પંચ કહે સો કીયે), i.e., we must do, what the Panch or a body of the elders ask us to do. Another proverb says "Panchê kahyûn te Khodâ kahyûn" (પંચે કહ્યું તે ખોદાયે કહ્યું), i.e., what the Panch has said is like what God has said. As some mismanaged Panchayet gatherings in India lead to dissensions, we have the word panchât or panchati (પંચાત, પંચાતી) in the sense of quarrel or dissensions.

The early Panchayet had several functions. One of

One of the Functions of the Panchayet, as settled by the Parsees themselves

these functions, as determined by a resolution of the community itself, more than hundred years ago, at a public meeting of the *Samast Anjuman* on 4th March 1818, was judicial. It says:—

“જાર બેહેરીનો તથા છ મેબેદો મલી ૧૮)જલુની એક પંચાત હવેથી આપણી કોમને લગતા ધેરથુ કહ્યાઓ સંભાલવા તથા તેમનો નીવેડો લાવવાને માટે ચુકરર કરવી.” i.e. A Panchayet of 18 persons—12 laymen and 6 priests—shall be appointed to hear and decide, hereafter, cases of domestic disputes.

A resolution of the Government of Bombay, dated 1st January 1887, speaks of the Parsee Panchayet as a “Standing Committee” for two purposes, (a) judicial and (b) administrative.²

1 *Vide Parsee Prakash*, I, p. 868.

2 “Twelve persons to be a standing committee for the settling of private disputes and the internal management of the caste.” (“Kholaseh-i Panchayet” by the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, pp. 67-68).

The old Parsi word for an institution like the Panchayet is the Avesta word Hanjamana, which has latterly become Anjuman in Persian. The word comes from Avesta *han jam* (Sans. सम-गम, *sam gam*) meaning

"to go together," i.e., an assembly where people meet together. Dr. Wilson¹ seems to have very properly spoken of the Panchayet of the Parsees as the Sanhedrim of the Parsees. (a) This word is Greek Synedrion, which in its English version is rendered as 'council' and, which also, coming from the Gr. prefix 'Syn' (Sans. sam, Avesta han) meaning together, and from Greek word, meaning 'a seat,' means, like the word hanjaman, an assembly where all sit together.

(b) The Sanhedrim, as so referred to in the Old Testament,² is the gathering "into the Lord of 70 men of the elders of Israel," and the Hanjamana or Anjumana is a gathering, according to the Avesta³, of men selected by Yima Khsheta (Jamshed) at the direction of Ahura Mazda. The Sanhedrim consisted of 70 members, but the number of the members of the Panchayet varied. The Parsi Panchayet of Bombay at times consisted of 12 persons and at times of 18. Mrs. Graham says that it was 13 at the time of her visit of Bombay.⁴ (c) As Hanjamana.

1 The Parsi Religion by John Wilson (1843), p. 71 n.

2 Numbers XII, 16.

3 Vendidad II, 21-22.

4 Mrs. Graham's "Journal of a Residence in India," p. 41. She writes: "The Panchait of the Guebres in Bombay consists of thirteen of the principal merchants of the sect; these were chosen originally by the people, confirmed by the Government and have continued hereditary. This little council decides all questions of property, subject, however, to an appeal to the Recorder's Court; but an appeal seldom happens, as the Panchait is jealous of its authority and is consequently cautious in its decisions. It superintends all marriages and adoptions and inquires into the state of every individual of the community; its members would think themselves disgraced if any Parsee were to receive assistance from a person of a different faith."

(Anjuman) distributed justice, so, the Sanhedrim also was "a court of justice" and was spoken of as a Beth-Din (lit. the house of din¹). (d) In the matter of the constitution, the hereditary high priest stood at the head of both the Anjuman and the Sanhedrim. In the case of the Bombay Parsi Panchayet which is comparatively a later growth, the head priest, though he with other priests was an important member of the Anjuman or the Panchayet, still he was not at the head. But in Naosari, a very old centre of the Parsis, the high priest still stands at the head. (e) There was a ceremony of election in both. In the Parsi Panchayet, the newly elected person was presented by the leading member of the body with a shawl as a symbol of his election. In the case of the Sanhedrim, he was admitted by the ceremony of the laying on of hands."² (f) Both generally met in their temples. The meetings of the Parsi Panchayet of Bombay were, at first, when the Parsi population was limited, held in the Banaji Agiary (Fire Temple) or in the Dadyseth Agiary.

The Panchayet, Samast Panchayet Anjuman and the Samast Anjuman, Their Mode of work.

Old Parsi Panchayet records used, for various gatherings, words like Panchayet, *Samast* Panchayet, Anjuman and *Samast* Anjuman. These words require some explanation.

(a) The whole body of the Panchayet elected from among themselves two to four members, who generally did some work of minor importance, e.g., they decided small social matters of judicial importance, distributed charity and did such other work. They also were spoken as Panchayet.

1 A Hebrew word corresponding to Arabic دِينَ. It is Avesta daena, Pahl. din, judgment

2 Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible, p. 827.

(b) When there were questions or cases of more importance, they, after preliminary investigations and collection of information, placed the whole matter before the whole body of the Panchayet, which in this case was called samast¹ Panchayet, i.e., the whole Panchayet.

(c) If the whole body of the Panchayet thought, when they met, that the question or case must go before Anjuman, i.e., the community as a whole, they resolved to do so. The Anjuman or community's gatherings also were of two kinds. They were spoken as *Anjuman* and samast (i.e., the whole) Anjuman. If the matters were not of very great importance they were placed before the ordinary gatherings of the Anjuman, e.g., at the Oothamna gatherings which were a kind of communal gatherings. In some cases, a word was sent round, e.g., at some public places like the Fire-temples, that a particular matter was to be considered at the Oothamna gathering, of such and such a person after the religious ceremony.

(d) In the case of questions or matters of very great importance, they were placed before the *Samast* (whole) Anjuman. In this case, a special crier was sent round in Parsi streets and to public places, to announce that a special meeting of the whole community was convened at such and such a place (mostly a Fire-temple), on such and such a day at such and such an hour.

The decisions of such public meetings of the whole community were put down mostly there and then and signed not only by the elders present but also by most of the members present who chose to do so. Some of the minutes of such meetings were signed by more than a hundred persons.

1 From Avesta hama, Sans. सप्त, P. hameh, 4 whole. Cf. Eng. sum.

The Panchayet
method of trans-
acting Business
and the old Teu-
tonic method.

The Panchayet's manner of transacting business reminds us of the manner in which the Assemblies of the Elders among the ancient Germans transacted their business. The German nations were divided into cantons presided over by courts or chiefs. The cantons were divided into groups of hundreds which were districts containing hundred villages or townships. The hundred was ruled over by a centenary or companion elected by the people. These centenaries or companions tried small cases and the courts tried great cases. All these grades reminded a Parsee of their grades of administration in ancient Iran where a *nmâna-paiti* (house lord) ruled over a *nmâna* (house), a *vis-paiti* (street lord) over a street, *santu-paiti* (a village lord) over a village and a *danghu-paiti* (a country lord, king of the country) over a country or nation.

But it is the method of transacting business that draws our special attention. Tacitus says: "On affairs of smaller moment, the chiefs consult; on those of greater importance the whole community; yet with this circumstance, that what is referred to the decision of the people, is firstly maturely discussed by the chiefs."¹ All this we find in the method of the old Parsee Panchayet. The members of the Panchayet, like the ancient German chiefs, "maturely discussed" at first the questions they referred to the decision of the whole (*samast*) Anjuman, which, at times, was also spoken of as *mohti* (i.e., large) Anjuman, in distinction from *nâhni* (small) Anjuman, which were the gathering like those at the Oothamna ceremony.

1 Tacitus, Chap. XI. Dr. Atkins' translation of the Germanus of Tacitus. *Vide* my paper "The Ancient Germans, their History, Religion, Manners, and Customs" (Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, pp. 636-684. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part II, pp. 257 and 272-3).

The Mode of Election.

The mode of election did not necessarily take place at a special meeting. When a member died and caused vacancy, it was at his Oothamna ceremony,¹ that the vacancy was generally filled up. This ceremony, generally held at an adjoining Fire-temple, was, and is still now, a public function. It is open to all members of the community, who choose to attend. There, at the close of the ceremony, the elder members of the Panchayet proposed before the assembly, the name of the person to be elected and presented him with a shawl. Generally, the members were elected from the leading families of the community. It was generally a son of the deceased, who was appointed. If he was not capable, a brother of the deceased or some other capable member of the family was appointed. Failing a fitting person in the family any other member of known respectability and standing was appointed. The gatherings of the Anjuman mostly accepted the nominations placed before them by the leading members of the Panchayet.

The Influence of the Bombay Panchayet's Jurisdiction.

Though the Bombay Parsi Panchayet was a body of later growth, after the marriage gift of Bombay to the British by the Portuguese, it grew in influence with the growth of the city. Though its rulings were originally intended for the Parsis of Bombay, they, more or less, came to be adopted by the Parsees of other towns also. The mofussil towns sought their advice and aid in various social and religious matters. They also sought their aid in financial matters. The relic of this old practice we see, even now, when the

1 For this ceremony, vide my Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees, pp. 438-43.

Panchayet exercised no judicial function, in the practice of most of the mofussil Anjumans, which entrust funds to the Bombay Parsi Panchayet. Nearly 80 mofussil towns have their funds entrusted to the Bombay Parsi Panchayet. The funds now amount to nearly 60 lacs.

Various appellations in connection with the Panchayet.

There were various appellations used in connection with the Panchayet.

(a) The head or the leading member of the body was known as Davar (દાવર). It is Persian *dāvar* or *davar* (داور دادور) and is formed from Pahlavi *dātōbar* (𐭌𐭕𐭕𐭕) i.e., "an administrator of justice". The very first Parsi Davar in Bombay was Banaji Limji. The word was so used for the leader of the community in Surat about 300 years ago.¹

(b) A leading member of the Panchayet, who did the most important administrative work, was also spoken of as Sardār (સર્દાર) i.e., Chief.

(c) The members of the Panchayet were also spoken of as *chogla* (ચોગ્લા). It is a Marathi word meaning a headman.² The word is derived by some from *Chaukal*, ચૌકા i.e., four members of good families.

(d) Latterly, the members of the Panchayet are spoken of as *akābars* (અકબર), a word which is plural of *akbar*, i.e., a great man.

1 *Vide* Rustem Peshotan's *Virāf-nāmah* in manuscript.

2 *Vide* Wilson's "Oriental Language Glossary of Terms". The second officer of a Maratha village, an assistant of the headman or Patel; he holds his office by hereditary tenure. *Vide* my Gujarati History of the Parsee Panchayet, Vol. I, p. 24. Dr. Ketkar's Marathi Encyclopaedia (પરસી પંચાયત શબ્દકોશ).

Three kinds of work of the old Panchayet.

The work of the old Parsi Panchayet was of three kinds:—(1) Legislative, (2) Judicial and (3) Administrative.

The first, *i.e.*, the Legislative, was done by the Samast, *i.e.*, the whole, Anjuman at a Fire-temple. (1) Legislative work. The rules and regulations spoken of as bando-basts (بند و بست), lit. what bound all, were, of course, framed, at first, by the Panchayet, but to be valid, they had to be approved by the whole community at a public meeting. Copies of these were at first distributed among, or shown to, the people, especially to other elders and to those who asked for them.

The most prominent instance of such *bandobasts*, framed and adopted, were those of 18th October 1823 adopted by the whole (samast) Anjuman, at a public meeting, held at the Atash Behram (Fire-temple of the first grade) of Dadisheth. The procedure adopted was as follows:—

(a) In 1820-21 Jamsetjee Bomonji Wadia and other members of the Panchayet framed the *bandobasts*, which were also spoken of as 'regulations' (رèglemens, English regulations).

(b) They, at first, got 115 copies presented and circulated for information, giving 8 months' notice to the public to send in suggestions or amendments.

(c) A public meeting of the whole community (Samast Anjuman) was then convened on 8th October 1823 for the adoption of the regulations re-framed after attending to the suggestions received by the time.

(d) The whole Anjuman, at this meeting, suggested some changes, and thereupon, the whole Panchayet (Samast Panchayet)¹ met in the house of Hormusji Bomonji

¹ In this connection, the reader must remember the successive stages of the work of the Panchayet stated above. They were (1) Panchayet, (2) Samast Panchayet, (3) Anjuman and (4) Samast Anjuman.

Wadia, on 15th October 1823, to reconsider the regulations in the light of the suggestions made by the whole Anjuman.

(e) A public meeting of the *Samast* Anjuman finally met on 18th October 1823 to adopt the regulations, finally settled. It was further resolved that those who disobeyed the regulations so adopted by the whole community were liable to punishment, as directed by the *Samast* Panchayet or the *Samast* Anjuman. The proceedings of this meeting were signed by the leader, as Jehangir Framji Davar, and by other 95 leading members of the community.

The object of these regulations was to put a stop to, and regulate, excessive funeral and marriage expenses, which seem to have unduly increased at the time. There were 47 regulations in all—19 for funeral expenses and 28 for marriage and other expenses. These regulations present an excellent group of materials for a student of Cultural Anthropology in the matter of social customs and manners among the Parsis. The following matters indicate the nature and scope of marriage regulations :—

(1) The age of the girl for being betrothed (*nāmzad*, lit. named with the husband).

(2) A limit set upon the number of days for the musicians (*nagarchi* and *tāsawālā*) to be called.

(3) To fix the cost of the present of ornaments to be given to a daughter-in-law on the occasion of the *Adarnī* (betrothal). The amount suggested was Rs. 5.

(4) The amount to be given by a father to his daughter on the day of betrothal. The amount suggest-

1. Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs," p. 12.

ed was one rupee. The other regulations about the other occasions relating to marriage, were of similar nature.

It seems that, at the above public meeting of the whole Anjuman on 18th October 1823, only the death regulations were finally adopted. Those in relation to marriage were provisionally framed and circulated, but not finally framed and adopted.

These social regulations, framed more than 100 years ago, have drawn the appreciation and praise of later great thinkers. For example, the late Mr. Manockji Cursetjee, in his letters, headed "The Parsee Punchayet" under the nom-de-plume of "Q in the Corner," addressed to the Bombay Times in 1844-45, while tracing the causes of the fall of the influence of the Parsi Panchayet, appreciates their efforts in the matter of these social regulations. Later on, the late Mr. Khursetji Rustomji Cama, though not approving of the procedure of the election of members, appreciated their efforts in framing these resolutions, a copy of which he got published in 1869.

III. The Administrative Work of the Panchayet.

The administrative work of the Panchayet was in various directions :—

1. They looked after the public property of the community, such as Towers of Silence.
2. They administered charity in various directions.
3. They carried on correspondence with Government and other bodies and kept a note of the proceedings of the communal meetings.

At times, all or most of the members signed the proceedings. In one case about 250 persons signed the proceedings.

Sources of Income for the Panchayet.

The following were the sources of the income of the Panchayet for administrative expenses:—

1. Public feasts of the whole community. These feasts are generally given now-a-days on the occasions of the Gāhambārs or seasonal festival occasions. But in the first half of the last century, the rich gave such communal feasts even on marriage and such other occasions. In 1791 the fee charged for such a feast on a marriage occasion was Rs. 11. The fee for a Gāhambār feast was Rs. 5.

2. Marriage Fees. Before the introduction of the Parsee Marriage Act of 1865, the Panchayet registered marriages. They charged Rs. 3 to the bridegroom and Rs. 1-8 to the bride for such registration.

3. Gifts in charity especially on the occasions of the Oothamna, the 3rd day ceremony of the dead.

4. Income of their land round the Towers of Silence.

5. Fines to persons who broke the rules and regulations. The excommunicated, when they were readmitted, paid certain fees.

All the members of the Panchayet signed the proceedings. A particular mode of signing was, that, at times, the son signed in the name of his father, though the father was dead. That was considered to be a way of honouring the dead father.¹ It seems that some time, a grown up intelligent son attended the Panchayet meeting, in the absence of the father and even signed

A peculiar Way of Signing the Minutes

1 *Ibid.*, p. 116.

2 *Vide* my Gujarati History of the Parsi Panchayet, pp. 56-7.

the proceedings. An instance of that kind, is found in the case of the well-known Dastur and author, Mulla Feeroze, who attended the meetings on behalf of his father, Dastur Kaus, and signed in Persian as "miñ tarfe abiyê", i.e., on behalf of my father.

The original signatures of some members of the Panchayet of the 18th century can still be seen in the old records of the Panchayet.¹

Mr. W. Morland, on the authority of several old travellers, thus sums up the position of the Parsis before, or at the time of, the death of Akbar (1542-1605): "The position of Parsis is not altogether clear."

Terry, writing of his experience about 1616, says that "their position is for the generality all kinds of husbandry". Mundy,² a little later, speaks of them as cultivating palm trees, and Monserrate³ was unable to distinguish them from the rest of the crowd of what he calls heathens, meaning, I take it, the ordinary Hindu population of the country round Naosari in which they were at that time settled; on the other hand, in Thevenot's⁴ time, they were conspicuous figures in Surat, essentially a commercial city; while in the middle of the sixteenth century, Garcia de Orta⁵ knew some of them as traders in Cambay and Bassein and noted that they were regarded as Jews by the Portuguese. Apparently, therefore, they were at this period passing from the pursuits of agriculture to the commercial career in which they have since achieved

1 *Ibid.* p. 57.

2 1631.

3 1581.

4 1660.

5 1534.

such remarkable success (India at the death of Akbar, by W. H. Morland, p. 28).

We gather that the members of the first regularly formed Panchayet, founded in the early part of the 18th century, were 10 in number. Among these we find the following names:—

The Members of
the first regularly
formed Panchayet.

1. Banaji Limji (died 30-7-1734), the founder of the Banaji Fire-temple, who was the Davar of the community.
2. Jijibhai Jamshedji Modi (died 10-4-1730), a descendant of the founder of the Modi Tower of Silence.
- 3-5. Framji and Bomanji and Nowroji (died 13-4-1733), sons of the well-known Rustam Manock, the broker of the English, Portuguese and Dutch Factories at Surat. They had to come and live in Bombay for some time, owing to differences with the English Factories.¹
6. Rustomji Dorabji Patel (died 12-4-1763), a descendant of the first Parsi who settled in Bombay when it was in the hands of the Portuguese.

In 1787 the Government, owing to dissensions between the clergy and the laity, interfered and settled matters and appointed a Panchayet of 12 persons. The number of members varied from time to time. At one time, in 1792, the number was 25.²

We find following particulars about the Panchayet from early times to 19th February 1772:—

1 *Vide* my paper on "Rustam Manock," Journal, B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. VI, New Series, pp. 1-220. *Vide* my "Asiatic Papers," Part IV, pp. 101-310.

2 *Vide* my "History of the Parsi Panchayet," p. 56.

Carsten Niebuhr, who had come to Bombay in 1763, says, that there was "at Bombay, at **Parsis in Bombay in the end of the 18th century.** Surat and in the vicinity of these cities a colony of ancient Persians".¹

Mr. James Forbes, who had come to India in 1766, says:—"Active and industrious, they applied themselves to domestic and foreign commerce; and many of the principal merchants and owners of ships at Bombay and Surat, are Parsees: others learned the mechanic arts, and engaged in the varied manufactures of the loom; the best carpenters and shipwrights in India are of this tribe. Their number at Bombay is considerable, and at Surat they amount in twenty thousand families: hitherto they have not attempted to establish a government of their own, and an unfortunate schism² in their religious tenets has divided them into two separate factions."³

Though, as said above, the foundation of the Recorder's Court led to the determination of the influence of the Parsi Panchayet in social matters, that Court and other courts sought the advice and wish of the Panchayet. There were a number of cases in which the Court of Justice sought such help.

During the first half of the last century, and even before that, the Panchayet had a long-standing dispute with the clergy. The clergy like the Brahmins took the daughters of the laity, in marriage, but did not give theirs to the laity. The Panchayet

Disputes between the Panchayet and the Clergy about inter-marriages.

¹ Carsten Niebuhr (A general collection of the best and most interesting Voyages), by John Pinkerton (1811), Vol. 10, p. 220.

² The schism was that between the Kadmis and Shehenshais in the matter of the calendar.

³ Oriental Memoirs by James Forbes, 2nd Edition, Vol. I, p. 79.

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and the whole Anjuman, among whom the laity formed the greater part, resolved that when the clergy refused to give their daughters in marriage to the laity, the latter shall not give their daughters to them, i.e., there should be no inter-marriages between the clergy and the laity. Those who did not observe this regulation were to be excommunicated. This resolution led to long disputes, the matter of which even went before the Government which appointed a committee of civil officers to look into the matter. The committee decided in favour of the laity, but the matter did not end there. Disputes often set in and there were several excommunications. As often said "Time is the great innovator," and now-a-days the restriction has passed away, though there is a lurking liking among the clergy that, as far as possible, they may have sons-in-law of the clergy class.

The Date of the
first Foundation
of the Panchayet
in Bombay.

The following are the dates of
some of the early events of the history
of the Parsis after their first arrival to
Bombay :—

- 1640 A.C. The first Parsi, Dorabji Nanabhoy Patel, arrived in Bombay.
- 1662 „ Bombay passed into the hands of the British. With this event began many arrivals from Surat.
- 1667 „ In the building of the fortifications by the British, a Parsi, Kharshedji Pochajee Pandey, had an important contract.
- 1678 „ The first Parsi Tower of Silence, the Modi Tower, was built at about this time. The first Fire-temple was also built at this time.

It seems that when a Fire-temple and a Tower of

Since were founded in 1678, there must be a good number of Parsis at the time, and so, there must have arisen the necessity of founding a body like the Panchayet which existed in Surat from which most of the Parsis came. Other circumstances show that it was in this year, i.e., 1678, the Panchayet was formed, though in a preliminary crude form.

In 1728 a second temple, the Banaji Fire-temple was formed. In this year Bomanji and Framji, the sons of Rustom Manock, who were leading Parsis of Surat, came to Bombay and settled for some time. In this year, the Panchayet seems to have been constituted on better principles with the advice of these leading Parsis of Surat.

The Nature of
the Cases decided
by the Panchayet.

The following list gives us an idea
of the subjects decided, among others,
by the Panchayet:—

1. Cases of marrying second wives or husbands without the permission of the Panchayet. In special cases, the Panchayet permitted, after inquiring, second marriages on some valid grounds.
2. Divorce on valid grounds.
3. Maintenance of wives deserted by husbands on grounds that were not valid.

Circumstances under which divorce was permitted.

Divorce was permitted, among others, under following circumstances:—

1. The adultery of the wife.
2. The impotency of the husband.
3. An unusually long absence of the husband. The period of absence generally accepted was that of 10 years.

The barrenness of the wife was the proper excuse for the husband to marry a second wife.

Permission granted for a second wife on account of the barrenness of the first wife.

Where a husband prayed for permission for a second marriage under this circumstance, after due inquiries and proper provisions for the maintenance of the first

wife, permission for marrying a second wife was given. At times, the first wives themselves, finding, that, by nature, they could not conceive of their own accord, permitted their husbands to have second wives. When the matters came before the Panchayet, they became consenting parties. It was obligatory on the husbands to maintain their wives and treat them with all respect and regard. The first wives continued to remain in the house and managed all household affairs as before, the second wives living with them, as if they were their daughters. In some cases the first wives themselves searched for the second wives and they looked for such as would live peacefully with them. They personally took part in all the marriage ceremonies and festivities which were usual in such cases.

The small body of the Panchayet decided social cases

Judicial Work of the Panchayet.

of the common type. The Davar, or a particular person appointed for the purpose, at first looked into the cases brought before him. He made all necessary inquiries. If it was an ordinary case that can be summarily decided, on the strength of usual practice and former precedents he did so. If it was of some importance and required fresh consideration he reserved it for consideration before the whole body of the *Samast* Panchayet. When a number of cases of that kind accumulated he called a meeting where the parties were invited with their witnesses and papers. The members present then heard

and decided the cases. We find from old Panchayet records, that, at times, they had long sittings where they decided a number of cases.

We saw above that at one time the clergy, well-nigh as a body, dissented from the rulings of the Panchayet, in which matter they were, at times, led by the members of the Seth family, founded by Rustam Manock. At one time, a member of the laity, Muncherji Merwanji Nowroji, dissented from, and protested against, the rules and regulations regulating the funeral and marriage expenses adopted by the whole (*Samast*) Anjuman at its meeting of 18th October 1823. He dissented in a letter written to the Bombay Samachar of 1st November 1823. The Panchayet replied in the Bombay Samachar of 8rd November 1823 saying that his accusations against the Panchayet were wrong and harmful and that they intended to take proceedings against him. He, in his second letter of 15th November 1823, apologised, saying, that his expressions originated from complete ignorance of the ancient Rules and Regulations of the Panchayet.¹

There were occasional instances of disobedience to the rules and regulations framed by the Panchayet for the good of the community. So, they tried to strengthen their authority with the help of Government.

Attempts of the Panchayet to strengthen its authority.

In 1818, some influential members of the Panchayet, who had friends and sympathisers in the Court of Directors of the East India Company in England, individually wrote to these friends. So, in December 1818, when Sir Evan Napier was the Governor of Bombay, the Directors wrote to the Government of Bombay asking them to

1. Vide my Gajarati History of the Parsi Panchayet, I, pp. 58-59, for the letter.

strengthen the authority of the Panchayet in social matters relating to the good of the community. As Napier was about to leave for England, the matter was left to his successor, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone. Elphinstone and his council did not recommend any step for the increase of the authority of the Panchayet for two reasons: (a) A class of newly made rich men had grown in the community, who were not inclined to respect the authority of the Panchayet and liked to act as they liked; (b) Now, as a Supreme Court was established in Bombay, there was no such necessity to increase the authority of the Panchayet. The following extract¹ from a later despatch seems to explain the position :—

“The Court of Directors expressed an anxiety to restore the power formerly exercised by the higher classes of Parsees over their inferiors, by means of their Panchayets. It was found impracticable. Indirect influence, moral estimation, and long habits of voluntary acquiescence in the will of others, when once interrupted, were not easily restored, and least of all by positive institutions. The difficulty arose out of the increase of the tribe, the numbers now possessed of wealth, their independent turn of mind, and from the want of a good understanding among the leading families. It would be difficult also to enact an unexceptionable body of regulations for the conduct of the Panchayets, and unless that were done there would be food for interminable law suits. The second class of rich Parsees wish to live and expend their money as they please, without troubling

¹ Extract of a letter from Francis Warden, Esq., formerly Member of Council at Bombay, in reply to T. H. W. Villars, Esq., dated, Bryanstone Square, 30th April 1832, for the information of the Right Honourable the Commissioners for the Affairs of India (Mansoorji Panchayet of the 1st. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, pp. 241-42), *My Parsi Panchayet Gujarati History*, p. 163.

or being troubled by Panchayets. The Recorder's Court was, on its institution, their favourite Panchayet. The spirit that would have made them submit in preference to their own heads of caste, when they were a humble body struggling for existence, was gone, and could not be revived. Among a rich and numerous people, who have lost their habits of personal attachment and obedience, law must complete the submission which opinions and habits no longer command. The schism¹ among the Parsis at Surat was of a still more violent character."

From this long extract, we gather the following reasons, why Government declined to strengthen the power of the Panchayet. These may be taken as the reasons for the fall of the influence of the old Panchayet:—

(1) The increase in the community on the whole, and especially, that in the number of rich men, who wanted to spend their money as they liked.

(2) The independent turn of mind of the newer generation.

(3) Want of good understanding among the leading families.

(4) The difficulty of enacting an unexceptionable body of regulators for the conduct of the Panchayet.

(5) The foundation of the new Recorder's Court which began to be the favourite Panchayet of some.

Mr. Warden refers to a want of good understanding

The Want of good understanding referred to above.

among the leading families as one of the causes leading to the decline of the influence of the Parsi Panchayet. With this cause may also be associated, here and

1 The schism referred to here is that between the Shohenabais and Kadmis in the matter of the calendar.

there, some cases of the families of the members of the Panchayet themselves not adhering to the observance of the rules. Mr. Manockji Cursetji in his letters, headed, "The Parsi Panchayet", addressed under the nom-de-plume of "Q in the Corner" to the Bombay Times in 1844-45, refers to this point and says that there were breaches in the observance of the rules, by some persons of the families of the members themselves in the Panchayet and they passed unattended to and unpunished.

A FEW TRAITS OF CULTURE, COMMON TO THE ANCIENT GERMAN, INDIANS AND IRANIANS.¹

The researches of the last one hundred years or so, have shown us vividly that the different
Introduction. branches of the stock known as the Aryan or Indo-Germanic stock have many things in common. We find similarity, not only in their languages, but also in their religion and their general culture. "Comparison" is as it were the watch-word of the students, not only of the Oriental lore but of all ancient lores.

The last great world-war which was really a great world-war, fought on three great continents of the world—Europe, Asia and Africa—and fought by the nations of all the five great continents of the world—Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia—which was a war in which the people of all the old *haft-keshvars* or *haft-aklms*, the seven quarters of the world were concerned, had led me to study and know something of the ancient Germans, the ancestors of the modern Germans whose great writer Nietzsche's work "*Also sprach Zarathushtra*," i.e., "Thus Spake Zarathushtra," had brought the name of the prophet of Iran to the lips of many readers, though not in its proper

¹ This paper was declared to be read on 6th April 1933. Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi died on 28th March 1933 and the paper was read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 21st June 1933 by Mr. K. E. Punekar and printed in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XV, No. 3, pp.

light.¹ It was this study that led me to see that there were several traits of culture that were common to three great nations of the ancient Aryan world, *viz.*, the ancient Germans, Indians and Iranians. The object of this paper is to present at some length, a survey of these traits. In doing so, I will in each case speak of the traits of the culture of the ancient Germans as described by Tacitus.²

Dislike for widow-marriage, prevalence of sutteeship and prohibition of inter-marriages, existed in ancient India. They are, nowadays taken by many, to be weak points, in ancient Indian civilization as leading to the lowering of the status of women. But in spite of this, we find that the ancient Indian women occupied a high position. Manu pronounced against widow-marriage, but in spite of that, he held women in great respect. He is quoted as saying: "Where woman is honoured there is joy in heaven, where she is despised, religious acts become fruitless."

The ancient Germans also disliked widow-marriages and inter-marriages and practised sutteeship to some extent. But still they held women in great respect.³

We find that the comparatively bright picture of the position of women among the ancient Germans was the heritage of the ancient Aryans that they had received.

1 *Vide* my paper "The Ancient Germans. Their History, Constitution, Religion, Manners and Customs". Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay of the year 1916, Vol. X, pp. 636-652. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part II, pp. 255-301.

2 In the case of Tacitus, I will quote from "A Treatise on the Situation, Manners and Inhabitants of Germany," by C. Cornelius Tacitus, translated by Dr. John Aikin (1823).

3 *Vide* my paper "The Ancient Germans. Their History, Constitution, Religion, Manners and Customs", (Jour. Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, pp. 636-682. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part II, pp. 255-301.)

The following view by a recent learned writer reflects the ancient Aryan view: "Nowhere, perhaps has woman occupied so high a position as among the Aryan peoples. Esteem for their womanhood has always been a distinguishing feature of the Aryan stock.....According to the law of Manu, the woman was to be to the man, not only wife, but mother, sister, friend and slave as well. Noble womanhood has in India been sung in as sincere and heartfelt accounts as it ever has in Europe."¹

For a picture of ancient Indian women, as bright as that of the ancient Germans, one may advantageously refer to the chapter on the Position of Women in the "Hindu Superiority," by Mr. Har Bilas Sarda.² Prof. Wilson said: "It may be confidently asserted that in no section of antiquity were women held in so much esteem as amongst the Hindus."³

As said by Dr. Geiger, "In the Avesta, both sexes appear constantly as possessing equal rights; there is no difference as to their respective importance. Pious men and women are frequently named together."⁴

As written by Dr. Haug to the Parsee Law Commission, "the position of a female in ancient times was much higher than it is now-a-days. They are always mentioned as a necessary part of the religious community. They have the same religious rites as men, the spirits of deceased women are invoked as well as those of men." Dr. West and Sir John Malcolm speak in a similar tone.⁵

1. Buddhist Essays by Dahlke, p. 243.

2. 2nd ed. (1917), p. 81.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

4. "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians," translated by Dastur Dabab, p. 64.

5. Vide my Iranian Essays (Sati [۱۳۳۱]), Part I, pp. 99-100.

Megasthenes says of the ancient Hindus that: "No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste,¹ or to exchange one profession or trade for another, or to follow more than one business. An exception is made in favour of the philosopher, who for his virtue is allowed this privilege."² Arrian also says something similar: "The custom of the country prohibits intermarriage between the castes—for instance, the husbandman cannot take a wife from the artizan caste, nor the artizan a wife from the husbandman caste. Custom also prohibits anyone from exercising two trades, or from changing from one caste to another. One cannot, for instance, become a husbandman if he is a herdsman, or become a herdsman if he is an artizan. It is permitted that the sophist only be from any caste, for the life of the sophist is not an easy one, but the hardest of all."³

Among the Iranians, interdiction seems to have prevailed in the case of marriages with aliens. There have been cases of later Zoroastrian kings marrying foreign princesses. For example, Behramgore married an Indian princess⁴; Chosroes I (Noshirwan the Just) and Chosroes II (Khusro Parviz) married Christian princesses. But all these cases are few and far between. Such marriages were not liked by the people in general. For example, when Khusro Parviz (Chosroes II) appeared at one time in his

1 Hymn No. 90 of the 10th Mandala of the Rigveda is referred to as pointing to the existence of castes in Vedic times. (A History of India, by V. S. Dalal, Vol. I, pp. 68-69, 267-8.)

2 Megasthenes, by McCrindle (1877), pp. 85-86.

3 *Ibid.* pp. 212-13.

4 *Vide* for the story my paper "The Bas-relief of Behramgour (Behram V) at Naksh-e Rostam, and his Marriage with an Indian Princess" (Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX, pp. 58-75. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 67-84.)

royal court in a royal robe presented to him as a marriage gift by his Christian father-in-law, the Roman King Aurice, his courtiers did not like that, because the robe bore crosses and other Christian symbols over it.¹ The King consulted his Head-priest who set all doubts at rest by assuring his sovereign that religion does not consist in dress, that he was Zoroastrian, but also a relative of the Kay."²

From the whole history of the Achaemenian kings as given by Herodotus we find only one solitary instance of a great nobleman being given an Iranian princess as wife and that in recognition of some exceptional services. That was the case of Mithridates who was given by Darius an Iranian princess in marriage as an exception.

That was the only exception I have come across in Herodotus, Book VI, 41.³

We have the authority of the Arab historian Maçoudi to say that the ancient Iranians especially disliked the marriage of their daughters with foreigners. He says: "Les rois de Perse pouvaient épouser les filles des rois étrangers; mais ils ne voulaient pas de ces rois pour gendres, parce qu'ils se considéraient comme d'un race plus libre et plus noble."⁴

1 Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIII. Rehatsek's article "Christianity in the Persian Dominions from its beginning till the fall of the Sasanian Dynasty." Vide my "Glimpse into the Work of the B.B.R.A. Society," p. 89.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Vide for particulars my Gujarati *સાદા ઇતિહાસ પ્રમાણે* (Ancient Iranians according to Herodotus and Strabo, 1904), p. 61.

4 Maçoudi traduit par Barbier de Meynard, Tome II, p. 221.

Translation: "The Kings of Persia can marry the daughters of foreign kings but they did not wish to have these (foreign) kings as their sons-in-law, because they considered themselves as a race more free and more noble."

When the Arabs of Yemen, under Ma'di Karib, asked help from Noushirvan (Chosroes I) against the Christian Abyssinians, "one of the conditions which Noushirwan imposed upon Ma'di Karib for helping him was, that the Persians were free to marry Arab women of Yemen, but that the Arabs should not marry Persian women."¹

There were also cases of some Persian kings marrying Turanian or Hun princesses. But in these instances, the cases seem to be those of marriage with co-religionists though foreigners, because the Huns were Zoroastrians by creed.²

As to inter-marriages between different classes, we do not find any special interdictions.

The people were divided from very early times, from the time of King Jamshed, into different classes according to their professions of priesthood, warriors, husbandmen and artizans. It seems that members of these four classes generally confined themselves to their own professions. In later Parthian times, following the conquest of Persia by Alexander, this restriction did not exist or was more honoured in the breach than in its observance. So, one of the several ordinances of Ardeshir Babegan, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, promulgated through Tanser or Tauser,³ his chief Dastur and minister, when he brought

1 *Vide* my paper "The Physical character of the Arabs; their relations with ancient Persians" (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay of the year 1919, Vol. XI, No. 7 (pp. 724-768), p. 764. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part III (pp. 8-51), p. 45.

2 *Vide* my paper "The Religion of the Huns who invaded India and Persia" read before the 8rd Oriental Conference at Madras. *Vide* my "Oriental Conference Papers," pp. 185-204.

3 For Tauser's letter in this matter to the King of Tabaristan as given by Prof. Darmesteter in text and translation, *vide* Journal Asiatique, Neuvieme Série, Tome III, Mars-Avril 1894 (pp. 185-250), Mai-Juin 1894 (pp. 502-555). For the division into four classes, *vide* my paper on the Antiquity of the Avesta, J.B.R.A.S., Vol. 19, p. 305-14.

about the Iranian Renaissance, was, that all the members of the above classes of profession should confine themselves to their own profession. If a member of one class or profession wanted to change his profession, he had to give reasons and apply to the State.¹ Even, in the midst of these restrictions, in matters of professions, we do not find any restrictions as to inter-marriages between the classes. But it seems that latterly, one kind of interdiction did prevail in India, when the Parsees came in there. That was an interdiction of marriages between the clergy (Āthravans) and the laity (Behedins). A member of the priestly class married a woman of the laity class, but not *vice versa*. This is said to be a custom of later Indian growth. The laymen objected to it. That distinction prevailed until about seventy-five years ago. The quarrels arising from this matter, at one time, even led Government to interfere.² That interdiction has died off now.

Tacitus, after speaking about the Venedi or Winedi, an old German tribe, says: "Still more specially is the practice of those States in which none but virgins marry and the expectations and wishes of a wife are at once brought to a period. Thus they take one husband as one body and one life, that no thought, no desire may extend beyond him."³

According to Tacitus, the Germans computed time not "by the number of days, but of nights." In this form all their resolutions and summons run; so that with them, the night

1 *Vide* my paper, "Was there any Institution in Ancient Iran, like that of Caste in India", read before the Anthropological Section of the Science Congress of 1923 at Lucknow. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part IV, pp. 199-205.

2 *Vide* my "History of the Parsee Panchayat" in Gujarati, pp. 95 *et seq.*

3 Atkin's Tacitus, *op. cit.*, Chap. XLVI, p. 117.

seems to lead the day.¹ Cæsar also says the same thing of Gauls who were a tribe of the Germans: "The Gauls fancy themselves to be descended from the God Pluto, which, it seems, is an established tradition among the Druids. For this reason they compute the time by nights, not by days; and in the observance of birthdays, new moons, and the beginning of the years, always commence the celebrations from the preceding night."²

The Indo-Iranians also did the same. In the Avesta, certain periods of time were counted by nights (*khshapara*, which word comes from *khshap*, Sans. क्षाप, P. *shab* شب night). For example, when they wanted to say that the dead bodies may be kept in the house for full two days, or three days before disposal, the word used was *khshapara* (night, *bi-khshapara*, *thri-khshapara*).³ Again, when it is said that the place in the house, where the dead bodies are placed before disposal, gets safe to be used and occupied after nine days, the word used is *nava-khshapara*, i.e., nine nights.⁴ Similarly a woman giving birth to a still-born child is enjoined to keep away from others, first, for three nights and then for nine nights,⁵ in all for twelve nights.

1 Germania XI.

2 Gallic War, Bk. VI, Chap. XVI. Translation by W. Duncan, 2nd ed. 1779, p. 147.

As to the Druids mentioned above, it may be noted here that some saw "a surprising uniformity in the temples, priests, doctrines and worship of the Persian Magi and the British Druids" who were believed to have "first flourished in the East, in Hindustan as Brahmans, in Babylon and Syria as Chaldeans, and in Persia as Magi, and from thence came hither (i.e. in Britain) with that great body of Persian Scythians." (As quoted in "Jarthoshti Abhyas" by K. R. Cama No. 2.)

3 Vendidad V, 12; VIII, 9.

4 Ibid. V, 42.

5 Ibid. V, 58.

A person who has come into contact with a body, and who, thus may have very likely caught infection, is asked to keep himself away from others for nine nights.¹ Khshap, khshapan and khshapara are the three words used in the Avesta for night, but of these three, the last word is the word, used in the above references, to express a day continuing from one night to another.

- The English word 'fortnight' (two weeks) for fourteen nights, points to a similar use among the other ancient nations also.

The early Indians also counted the days by nights and we see a remnant of that custom in the word नव-रात्र "a period of nine days," "the first nine days of the month Asvina held sacred to Durga" being specially known by that name—a name which has given to us the Gujarati word નવરાત્રી notran.

The early Germans' wealth consisted of thin cattle. Tacitus says: "They (the cattle) are, however, numerous, and form the most esteemed, and, indeed the only species of wealth. Silver and gold, the gods, I know not whether in their favour or anger, have denied to this country. . . . The possession of them (metals) is not coveted by these people as it is by us. . . . The remoter inhabitants continue the more simple and ancient usage of bartering commodities."² Further on, Tacitus says that "the convicts are fined in horses and cattle. Part of the muleet goes to the king or state; part to the injured person or his relatives."³

We find the same among the ancient Indo-Iranians. The Avesta speaks of the payment of fees to a priest and to a medical man, not in money but in cattle.

1 *Ibid.* IX, 35.

2 *Germania*, Chap. V.

3 *Ibid.* Chap. XII.

Tacitus says: "As soon as they arise from sleep which they generally protract till late in the day, they bathe usually in warm water as cold weather chiefly prevails there. After bathing they take their meal, each on a distinct seat, and at a separate table. Then they proceed armed to business; and not less frequently to convivial parties, in which it is no disgrace to pass days and nights, without intermission in drinking. The frequent quarrels that arise among them, when intoxicated, seldom terminate in abusive language, but more frequently in blood. In their feasts, they generally deliberate on the reconciliation of enemies, on family alliances, on the appointment of chiefs, and finally on peace and war, conceiving that at no time the soul is more opened to sincerity, or warmed to heroism. These people, naturally void of artifice or disguise, disclose the most secret emotions of their hearts, in the freedom of festivity. The minds of all being thus displayed without reserve, the subjects of their deliberation are again canvassed the next day, and each time has its advantages. They consult when unable to dissemble: they determine when not liable to mistake."¹

Eating separately at separate tables seems to be prevalent among the ancient Indo-Iranians, especially among the priestly class. Orthodox Parsee priests at Naosari, even now, have each separate tables. Those who observe the Bareshnum ritual, have not only separate tables and plates, but would not even drink from the same pots.

What is said here of their deliberations in serious matter after drinking and feasts reminds us of the similar custom of the ancient Iranians referred to by Herodotus who speaks thus: "They are used to debate the most impor-

tant affairs when intoxicated; but whatever they have determined on in such deliberations is, on the following day when sober, proposed to them by the master of the house where they have met to consult; and if they approve of it when sober also, then they adopt it; if not they reject it. And whatever they have first resolved on when sober, they reconsider when intoxicated."¹

Drinking was said to be a vice among the ancient Hindus also. According to the Arthashastra of Kautilya, there was a superintendent of the liquor-houses, some of which seem to be somewhat luxuriously furnished like our modern restaurants. *Sura* was "the favourite beverage of the ancient Hindus. The juice of the Soma plant also was drunk as a liquor."²

Tacitus says: "No people are more addicted to social entertainments, or more liberal in the exercise of hospitality. To refuse any human creature admittance under their roof, is accounted flagitious. Every one according to his ability feasts his guest; when his provisions are exhausted, he who was late the host, is now the guide and companion to another hospitable board. They enter the next house uninvited and are received with equal hospitality. The departing guest is presented with whatever he may ask for."³ Caesar thus gives a similar testimony about their hospitality: "To injure guests they regard as impious; they defend from wrong those who have come to them for any purpose whatever, and esteem them inviolable; to them the house of all are open and maintenance is freely supplied."⁴

1. Bk. I, 122.

2. A History of India by Mr. Dalal, Vol. I, pp. 73 and 272.

3. Germania, XXI.

4. Gallic War, Bk. VI, Chap. XXIII, p. 152.

Hospitality was well-known among the ancient Hindus also. "A duty in which the sutras lay much stress is that of hospitality, the reception of guests being characteristically described as an everlasting sacrifice offered by the house-holder to Prajapati."¹

They were addicted to drinking, dancing and playing at dice. As to the latter, Tacitus says:
 Play at Dice. "What is extraordinary, they play at dice when sober, as a serious business; and that with such a desperate venture of gain or loss, that, when everything else is gone, they set their liberties and persons on the last throw. The loser goes into voluntary servitude; and though the youngest and strongest, patiently suffers himself to be bound and sold. Such is the perseverance in a bad practice. They themselves call it honour."²

This habit of the Germans reminds us of the Indian story of Dharmaraj wherein a Hindu prince lost, in the game of dice, all that was nearest and dearest to him.

We learn from Kautilya's Arthashastra that gambling with dice was prevalent in ancient India to such an extent, that gambling was, as it were, a regular institution. Like liquor-houses gambling-houses required to be properly controlled by a special superintendent, who centralized gambling in a certain place where dice were supplied on hire, and where deceitful practices and fraud were watched and punished. There was a license-fee for such gambling-houses which supplied also refreshments. The same superintendent, who looked over these gambling transactions, looked to the transactions of sales and mortgages of property. This fact shows that gambling and gambling-houses formed, as it were, an institution under the

1 A History of India by Mr. Dalal, Vol. I, p. 808.

2 Germania, XXIV.

eye of government¹ and that property often changed hands as the result of gambling transactions.

Kautilya speaks of gamblers like Jayatsena and Duryodhana as "expert gamblers".² Of the two addictions—that to gambling and that to women—gambling was taken to be a worse evil.³ The tenth Mandala of the Rigveda refers to this game, which is spoken of as "one of the favourite pastimes of the Aryans."⁴

1 Kautilya's Arthashastra by Mr. Shamashastry, pp. 249-50, Chap. XX.*

2 *Ibid.* p. 299, Bk. VII, Chap. IJL.

3 *Ibid.*

4 A History of India, by Mr. Dalal, Vol. I, pp. 70-71.

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